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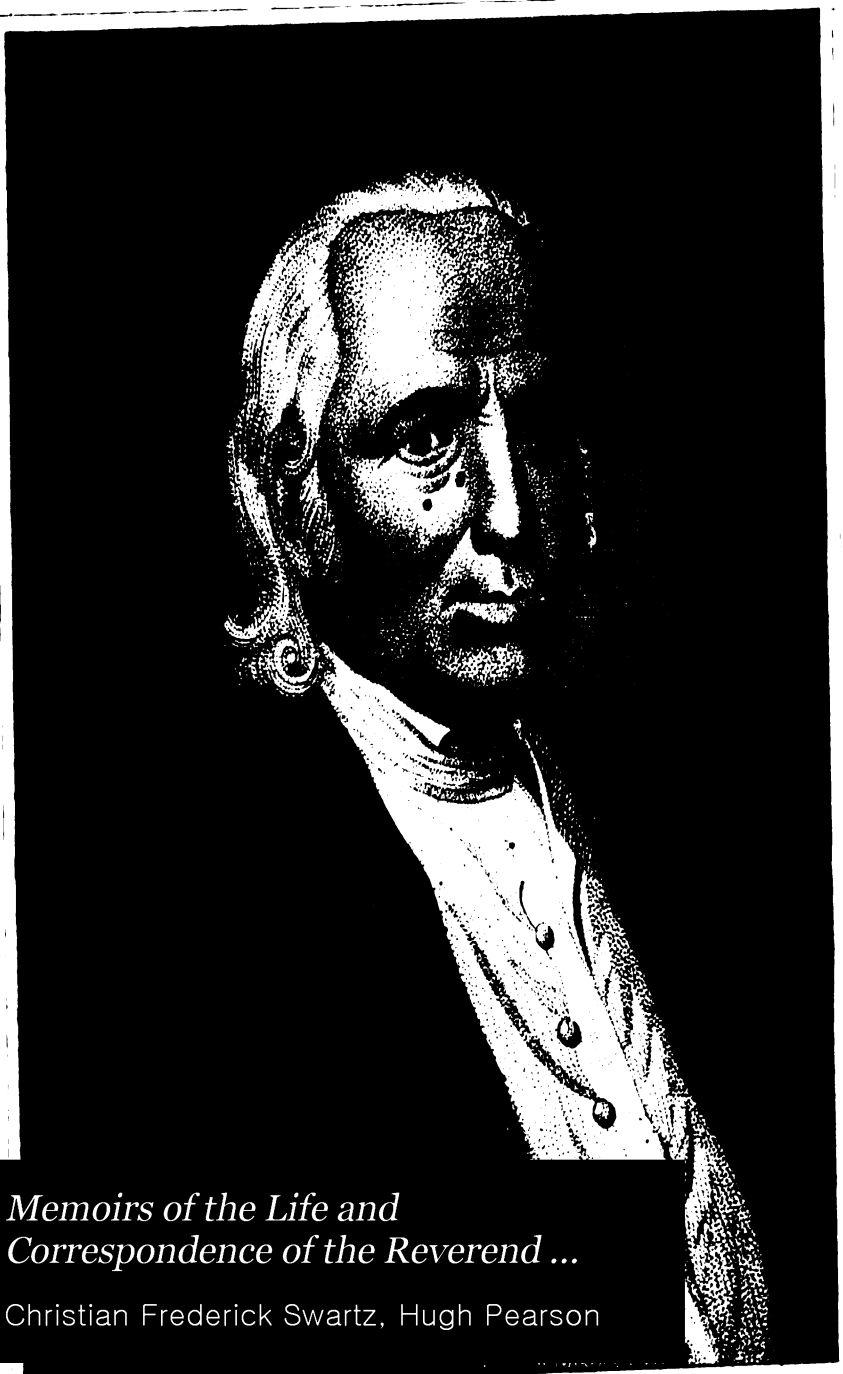

Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of the Reverend ...

Christian Frederick Swartz, Hugh Pearson

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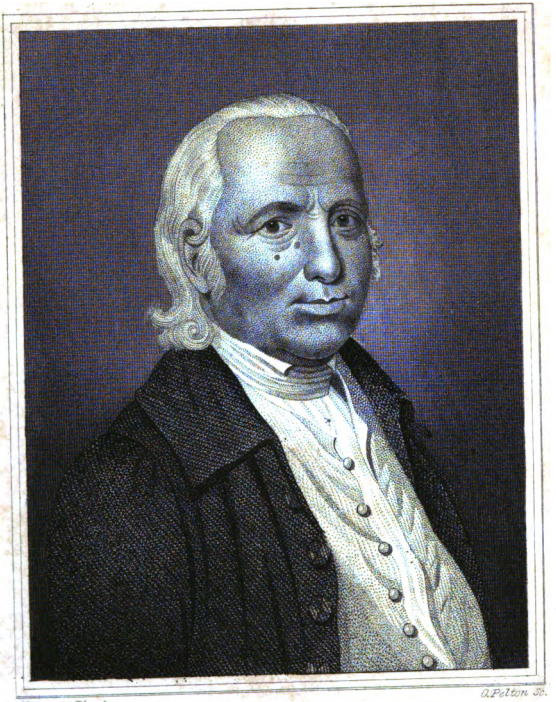

J. Smart Pinxt. *D. Pelton Sc.*

Yours for ever
C. F. Swartz

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE REVEREND

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SWARTZ.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED, A SKETCH

OF THE

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

BY

HUGH PEARSON, D.D., M.R.A.S.

DEAN OF SALISBURY.

BOSTON:

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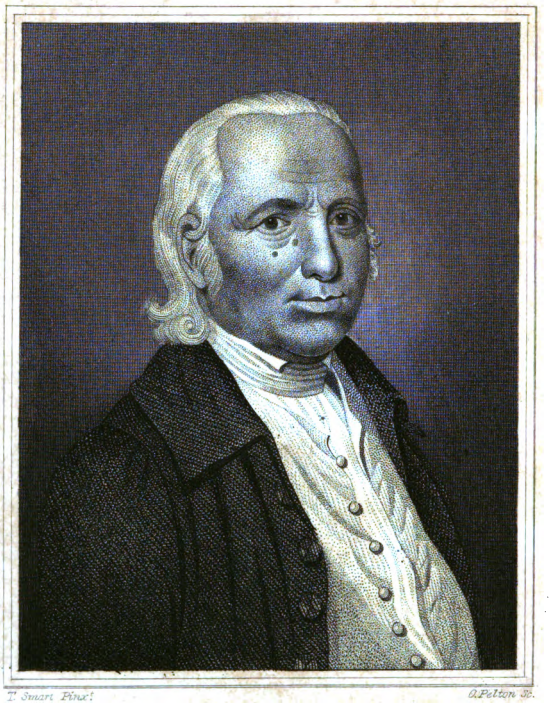

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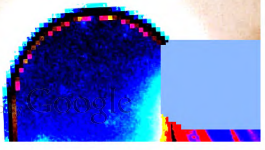

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PREFACE

TO THE

AMERICAN EDITION.

IMPERFECT biographies of Swartz have appeared at different times; but it is remarkable, that a complete history of his life was not published for nearly forty years after his decease. This—so long a desideratum —was furnished in the year 1834, by the Rev. Dr. Pearson, the well known biographer of Buchanan. The delay was occasioned by the difficulty of collecting materials. Dr. Pearson's work has left us little to desire, as he had the object before him for many years, and enjoyed the best means of gaining information. Indeed, he is rather redundant in materials; and it is by throwing out some of the less important of these, as well as by a smaller type and closer page, that the work was reduced, in the present edition, from an expensive octavo of two volumes, without diminishing the interest or value of the memoir. The thread of the narrative has not been broken at all by the omissions, as these consist, in a great degree, of letters, contents of which were anticipated either in other letters, or in the remarks of the biographer, which have been retained.

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The missionary labors of Swartz and of his associates, must have a permanent and increasing interest in this country, from the fact that an American mission has just been commenced among the Tamul people on the continent, on the very ground where Swartz and Gericke labored and prayed. Swartz is known to have extended his efforts to Jaffna in Ceylon. A branch of the American mission in that island, has just been formed at Madura, upon the continent, one of the outposts of the Tanjore mission. The influence of Swartz and his associates, was so diffused among the Tamul race, that all missionaries now among that people, are *his successors*. Some account of the different missions in the south of India, is inserted in the last chapter of this volume. The American missions will, unquestionably, become greatly extended and influential. Swartz and his companions labored, and we are now entering into their labors. Our enterprise is a continuation of theirs. Their history is necessary as an introduction to ours, and it always will be necessary, and always doubly interesting on that account.

But the great, the substantial interest of this memoir is to be found in the character of Swartz. He was situated as no other Christian missionary ever was before. He was called to sustain the twofold character of a political adviser and of a missionary of Jesus. He was repeatedly intrusted by the Madras government, with services of the most delicate and responsible character; in one or two instances, where the very existence of the British power in that part of India, seemed to lie entirely in his keeping. With

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what integrity and single-mindedness, with what fidelity to the native and to the British interests alike, his whole course was marked, this volume contains most abundant proof. His intercourse with the Madras government and with the native princes, was altogether honorable and Christian. His motives, and his whole interior frame, so far as they are developed by his actions and by his confidential correspondence, are in full accordance with the simplicity of his personal appearance and of his general reputation. There was nothing like chicanery, or double-dealing, or want of transparency in his conduct. When he might have acquired riches and high political honor, he yet loved his work as a missionary. He went about over the hills and vallies of the peninsula doing good. Whether lecturing to his catechists, visiting the sick, preaching to beggars, taking measures to build a church, whether at home in the study of Tamul, in the governor's council-chamber, travelling in his palanquin, or negotiating in the palace of Hyder Ali, we observe the same spiritual affections, the same sweet simplicity, the same ardent desire for the coming of the kingdom of Christ. Like Paul, he strove to commend himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God. He carried with him a deep sense of the importance of personal religion, and of the difference between inward piety, and a mere external profession. At the same time, he was catholic and candid in his opinions, in a high degree. His apostolic fervor never degenerated into partizan-zeal. In his quiet and simple expressions, there not unfrequently appears, the profoundest maxims of political wisdom. With great simplicity

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and meekness, he had a clear insight into the springs of human action, truly uniting the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove. Perhaps, some portion of the excellence of his Christian character may have been derived from his German temperament, as some of the peculiarities of the missionaries of the United Brethren seem to be hereditary or native qualities. An Englishman, with an equal amount of piety, may be much more reserved than a German. Still, we do not, in the least, question the honesty and beautiful transparency of Swartz's character. We recognize, on every page, the footsteps of a noble-minded disciple and apostle of Jesus. His example will shine gloriously through all coming generations. But very few missionaries, if any, will be called to perform political duties, such as were intrusted to him. But all may well copy his wisdom, his fervency, his untiring industry, his bland and affectionate disposition, his comprehensive views for the best good of mankind, and his habitual and cordial trust in the merits and mediation of the Saviour.

The memoir, which we now present to the Christian public, will be one of enduring interest and value. In uniform and eminent spirituality of mind, Swartz was like Brainerd and Martyn. His name, like theirs, will never die.

Boston, May, 1835.

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SKETCH OF THE HISTORY

OF

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA,

INTRODUCTORY TO THE

LIFE OF SWARTZ.

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INTRODUCTORY SKETCH.

Extensive propagation of the Gospel during the first four centuries.—Subsequent decline.—Slumber of the middle ages.—Maritime discoveries of the Portuguese.—Roman Catholic Missions.—Zeal of the Dutch.—Danish Mission.—Ziegenbalg and Grundler.—Patronage of the Tranquebar Mission by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.—Schultz, and other Danish Missionaries.—Establishment of a Mission at Madras.—Introduction of Christianity into Tanjore.—Mission at Cuddalore.—Capture of Fort St. George by the French.—Mr. Fabricius.—Roman Catholic Churches and Mission Houses at Vepery and Cuddalore, granted to the Protestant Missionaries at the peace, in 1748.—State of the Danish Mission previously to the arrival of Swartz.—Recapitulation.

THE propagation of the gospel during the first four centuries after the Christian era, presents a most important and interesting subject of contemplation to every reflecting mind. A new and divine religion had revealed to mankind the knowledge of the will of God, the good tidings of a Redeemer, and the promise of immortal life and happiness. Opposed as its spiritual principles and its moral precepts were to the prevailing philosophy, no less than to the multiplied superstitions and the corrupt passions of the Gentile world, the miraculous powers which distinguished the primitive ages of Christianity, and the piety and zeal of its early disciples, succeeded, under the guidance and blessing of its divine Author, in diffusing its influence with a rapidity, and to an extent, far exceeding that which has been witnessed at any subsequent period. It pervaded every province of the Roman empire, and even penetrated to regions beyond its

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widely-extended boundaries; and while it tended to ameliorate the character of polished nations, and to civilize the most barbarous people, it communicated to both blessings infinitely more valuable than any which refer merely to the transient interests of the present world.

The progress of the gospel during several succeeding centuries was slow and limited; while, in too many instances, the pure light of divine truth became gradually obscured, and in others utterly overwhelmed and extinguished, by error, superstition, and barbarism.

It was not till the tenth century, that Christianity made any effectual impression on the eastern and northern states of Europe, nor was it before the commencement of the fifteenth, that it finally triumphed over Paganism in that quarter of the world. In the meantime, the conquests of the Turks and Tartars in Asia and Africa opposed an invincible barrier to the progress of the gospel in those continents; while the darkness and slumber of the middle ages paralyzed the efforts of European Christians for its extension in any part of the globe.

The maritime discoveries of the Portuguese towards the close of the fifteenth century, by opening a new world to the nations of Europe, appeared to rouse their dormant energies in propagating the knowledge of Christianity. On the coast of Africa, in America and its islands, and in the islands and maritime provinces of Asia, the Spaniards and Portuguese, armed by the authority and stimulated by the zeal of the court of Rome, distinguished themselves in this sacred cause. The progress of the Reformation, by giving an effectual check to the ambition of the Roman pontiffs, and by depriving them of a considerable part of their spiritual dominion in Europe, might perhaps have tended to increase their ardor in the propagation of their religion in distant quarters of the world. Their efforts were powerfully seconded by the institution of the order of Jesuits in the year 1540; a certain number of that celebrated society having been, from its commencement, devoted to the purpose of extending the pale of the Romish church in heathen nations.

The zeal of the Portuguese clergy, and of the various missionaries of the Romish church, among whom the justly celebrated Francis Xavier holds the most distinguished place, effected the conversion of thousands of the

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natives of India to the Roman Catholic faith. The greater number of these converts were at Goa, and Cranganore, and in other stations on the coast of Malabar, under the more immediate influence of the Portuguese government; but the missions in Madura and Mysore, in Marava and the island of Ceylon, on the coast of Coromandel and in the Carnatic, were, if we may credit the reports, more particularly of the Jesuit missionaries, eminently and extensively successful. Many deductions must undoubtedly be made with respect to the numbers of Hindoo converts thus asserted by the missionaries of the Romish church. But even admitting to whatever extent the success of their exertions, the Anti-Christian and unworthy methods to which the Jesuits had recourse, and the merely external and nominal profession of Christianity with which they were for the most part contented, tend to reduce to a very low scale the estimate of their labors, in what must otherwise be deemed a noble and most important enterprise.

The expedient resorted to by Robert di Nobili, chief of the Jesuit's College at Madura, in the sixteenth century, and one of the most eminent followers of Xavier, of adopting, together with his clergy, the dress, habits, and manners of the brahmins, is a striking instance of those unwise and equivocal attempts to conciliate the Hindoos, by compromising the truth and simplicity of Christianity. This learned and zealous man, with the same mistaken policy, composed a work in Sanscrit, consisting of dialogues between a Christian and a Hindoo, in which, though the preponderance of argument is in favor of the Christian, the Hindoo, in order to convince his countrymen of the folly of idolatry, is made to reason powerfully in support of the principles of pure theism. A translation of this work having been transmitted from Pondicherry to the king's library at Paris, Voltaire, presuming it to be the genuine production of a Hindoo, triumphantly appealed to it as a decisive proof, that it was unnecessary and superfluous to urge the doctrines of Christianity upon a people who were already so well informed as to the tenets of natural religion.

The failure of all such worldly expedients on the part of the Romish missionaries in India, is fairly acknowledged by the Abbé Dubois; who, however, strangely attributes

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it, not to the refusal of the divine blessing to a method of proceeding so contrary to apostolic principles and practice, but to the effect of the divine predestination!

The decline of the Portuguese dominion on the coast of Malabar, naturally diminished the influence and the success of the Roman Catholic missionaries in India; while the zeal of the Dutch, more especially in Ceylon, though liable in some measure to the objection which has been urged against the missions of the Church of Rome, as to the worldly policy and the culpable facility with which converts to their respective communions were too frequently encouraged, augmented to a very large amount the numbers of professed Christians in that island.*

Though the piety and zeal of Protestants had often excited an anxious desire to propagate the pure and reformed faith of the gospel in heathen countries, its establishment and defence against the hostile attempts of Popish adversaries at home, together with the want of suitable opportunities and facilities for so great a work, combined during the first century after the Reformation, to prevent them from making any direct or vigorous efforts for this purpose. A regard to sound policy, as well as the sense of duty, had, as we have just seen, prompted the Dutch to accompany their conquests with laudable endeavors to promote Christianity in India; but it was reserved for the Danes to be entitled to the high honor of setting the first example of an institution for the express purpose of communicating to its native inhabitants that inestimable blessing.

The crown of Denmark had, since the year 1621, by the cession of the Rajah of Tanjore, been possessed of the town of Tranquebar, and a small adjoining territory, on the coast of Coromandel. The Jesuits had long before built a church there, but had done nothing towards the propagation of Christianity among the natives; while the Danish merchants, occupied only with the interests of commerce, were altogether indifferent to their religious condition. Such was the state of things when, at the

* An account of the means employed by the Dutch, in the early part of the seventeenth century, to propagate the Christian religion in Ceylon, may be found in Cordiner's Description of Ceylon. —*Am. Ed.*

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commencement of the eighteenth century, Frederick IV., King of Denmark, on the suggestion of the Rev. Dr. Lutkens, one of his majesty's chaplains, who had proposed the subject to him when only prince regent, determined, notwithstanding the advice of some who thought the design premature and ill timed, to establish a mission for the conversion of the heathen at Tranquebar. With this view the king directed an application to be made to the celebrated Dr. Francke, professor of divinity in the University of Halle, in Saxony, whose well known devotion to the cause of religion, and recent establishment of the Oriental College of Divinity in that place, peculiarly qualified him for such a task; requesting him to recommend from among his pupils those whom he might deem best calculated, by their learning and piety, to lay the foundation of this important work. Dr. Francke made choice of Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, a young man of eminent talents and religious excellence, who had been educated at Halle under his own immediate superintendence, and who happening to be at Berlin when Dr. Lutkens was inquiring for suitable persons to be employed as missionaries, joyfully accepted the proposal. He was soon afterwards joined by his friend and fellow student, Henry Plutscho, who was actuated by a similar desire of engaging in the first Protestant mission to India. These pious men, having received holy orders from the bishop of Zealand, embarked at Copenhagen on the 29th of November, 1705, and after a pleasant voyage, arrived at Tranquebar on the 9th of July, 1706.

Here, notwithstanding their commission from the king of Denmark, the missionaries, instead of being kindly received, were discouraged and opposed by the Danish authorities. Undismayed, however, by the various difficulties which surrounded them, and fortifying themselves by the study of the word of God, particularly of the Acts of the Apostles, and by prayer, these excellent men entered without delay on their arduous undertaking. Their first object was to acquire the knowledge of the Portuguese language, which, from its introduction two centuries before, was now generally understood by the natives, and then of the Tamul, the vernacular language of the country from Madras southward, and the greater part of the extremity of the peninsula, and of the north

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of Ceylon. Such was their zeal and diligence, that in the course of a few months they had acquired a sufficient knowledge of both languages, to enable them to catechise the native children in two schools which they had established, and which they supported out of their own slender funds.* Ziegenbalg particularly devoted himself to the study of the Tamul; and such was his extraordinary proficiency, that he not only acquired a very extensive acquaintance with the books written in that language on Hindoo mythology and history, but soon began to converse fluently with the natives on moral and religious subjects.

The first fruits of his labors in this interesting field was the conversion of a young man of high caste, named Modaliapa, who, while assisting Ziegenbalg in acquiring the knowledge of Tamul, became gradually convinced of the errors of idolatry, and of the truth of the divine religion which he saw so admirably exemplified in him and his fellow-missionary.

In the month of May, 1707, the missionaries publicly baptized several of their catechumens in the Danish church at Tranquebar, on which interesting occasion Ziegenbalg preached in Tamul on the conversion of the heathen, and the best method of diffusing the knowledge of the gospel. A few days afterwards, they conferred on one of their converts the office of a catechist, to assist them in the instruction of his native countrymen; and on the 14th of June, notwithstanding their slender means for such an undertaking, they commenced the building of a church for the use of the mission. Such was the blessing with which this pious design was attended, that with the assistance of those who were friendly, and even of some who were at first opposed to it, the building was completed in the month of August following, and consecrated in the presence of a large assembly both of Christians, heathens, and Mohammedans. This church was built of stone, and in the midst of the native population, a little out of the town. Here the missionaries regularly preached both in Portuguese and Tamul twice in every

* The account of the early labors of Ziegenbalg and his brethren of the Danish mission, particularly in the study of the Tamul language, by Niecamp and La Croze, is highly interesting and instructive.

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week; and here, after baptizing some additional catechumens, and administering the holy communion, they laid the foundation of a numerous and flourishing church, composed of converts well prepared and instructed in the principles of the gospel, and for the most part duly accrediting the sincerity of their Christian profession.

Being deeply convinced of the importance of early instruction, the missionaries lost no time in establishing a school for the education of such native Tamul children as they could collect for this purpose, some of whom they contrived to clothe and feed at their own expense. To this they shortly added a Portuguese school. The zeal and diligence of these devoted men were scarcely ever exceeded.

Amidst the blessing of God which followed their various labors, the faith and patience of these pious missionaries were severely tried by the loss of two considerable remittances from Europe, by the shipwreck of the vessels on board of which the money had been embarked, and still more by the continued opposition of the European inhabitants. To such a height had this arisen, that at one period the excellent Ziegenbalg was even arrested by the Danish governor, and detained in prison for four months, during which his firmness and activity of mind were as conspicuous as his resignation to this unjust and disgraceful proceeding.

The disinterestedness and self-denial of the missionaries, combined with the assistance of some charitable individuals, enabled them to defray their increasing expenses until the month of July, 1709, when a most seasonable and important supply reached them from Europe by the arrival of three new missionaries, Messrs. Grundler, Bœving, and Jordan, bringing with them a considerable sum of money, together with a variety of stores for the use of the mission. The persecution which the missionaries had so long suffered from the Danish residents was at the same time considerably checked by the authoritative interference of their royal patron, the King of Denmark, who sent out his positive commands to the governor of Tranquebar, to assist and encourage their pious labors to the utmost of his power.

It was in this year that the Danish mission became first known in England, by the translation of some letters

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from the missionaries, addressed to one of their friends in London. The attention of religious persons was powerfully excited by this interesting publication, particularly that of the Rev. Mr. Boehm, chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, one of the earliest members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which had been then a few years established. A present both of money and books was immediately sent by the Society to Tranquebar, and a brief but cordial notice of the mission was inserted in the report of its proceedings for that year. Such was the commencement of the disinterested and important patronage afforded to the Danish mission by that venerable Society, which, while it reflected honor on its members, contributed so effectually to the extension and support of Christianity in India.

In 1710, Ziegenbalg undertook a journey to Madras, to ascertain what prospect there might be of gaining access to the heathen, either by the way and in the neighboring country, or in the town itself, with a view to their conversion to Christianity. During his stay at this place, Ziegenbalg made many inquiries respecting the religious wants of its inhabitants. "Madras," he writes, "is advantageously situated for spreading Christianity, if the English who command there would but second our endeavors, or join with us in propagating the gospel in the East."

In the course of the three following years, independently of a considerable sum collected by a general contribution* among its members, and transmitted to the missionaries, the Society printed, principally for their use, an edition of the Portuguese New Testament, and sent out to them a printing-press, a fount of Roman and Italic types, and a large quantity of paper for printing. The fate of the press was remarkable. The vessel in which it was embarked was captured by the French, and carried to the Brazils, where the printer who had charge of it died; but the press, which lay concealed in the hold of the vessel, having been re-purchased by the Society, was in the following spring safely landed at Madras. About the same time, the missionaries received from Germany a fount of Tamul characters. They afterwards succeeded in casting

* La Croze, tom. ii. liv. 7.

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superior Tamul types at Tranquebar, and attempted the manufacture of paper, and were thus enabled to print a variety of books and tracts, which were eminently useful in the dissemination of Christian knowledge. Of these the most valuable and important was the translation of the New Testament into the Tamul language. Ziegenbalg had early conceived the design of this great undertaking, and commenced it in the year 1708, as soon as he had acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language to write it with correctness and elegance. His translation was completed in 1711, but the printing of it was delayed, for the purpose of rendering it more perfect by the most careful revision, till the year 1714, when it issued from the press at Tranquebar. The Romish missionaries had printed various tracts in Tamul, but they were chiefly catechisms, the lives of saints, or other legendary tales of their church. After two hundred years, in which they had professed to preach the gospel, it was reserved to Ziegenbalg to be the first to translate the inspired record into one of the most prevalent languages of India. "May God Almighty," said he, addressing the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge on transmitting a copy of this translation, "prosper our labors by his heavenly blessing, and grant that his Holy Word, like an incorruptible seed, may be scattered among these nations, to preserve them from eternal destruction!" *

The King of Denmark had in the year 1711, granted to the missionaries at Tranquebar a pension of two thousand crowns, and in 1714 his majesty† founded a college at Copenhagen, for the purpose of superintending and supporting the interests of the mission. The number of converts now amounted nearly to three hundred, the greater part of whom had been received into the church by baptism. The schools contained upwards of eighty children, who were nearly all supported as well as in-

* This version of the Holy Scriptures, begun by Ziegenbalg, and completed by his associate Schultz, is substantially the one which promises soon to have an extensive distribution among the Tamul people, through the enterprise of American Bible and Missionary Societies.—*Am. Ed.*

† An abstract of the king's instructions to the Missionary College is contained in the volume of letters from Ziegenbalg and Plutscho to their friends in Europe. They are highly creditable to the piety of that excellent monarch.

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structed by the missionaries; and the number of persons employed in the service of the mission, including schoolmasters, catechists, and others, exceeded twenty. This increasing charge, and the consequent labors and responsibility which resulted to the missionaries, together with the difficulties with which they had long struggled, induced Ziegenbalg to determine on a voyage to Europe, whither his friend Plutscho had already returned, for the purpose of more effectually promoting the important work in which he and his colleagues were engaged.

Having, therefore, consigned to the care of Grundler the concerns of the mission, and satisfactorily arranged their differences with the Danish governor, he embarked in the month of October, 1714, and was accompanied by a young native convert. With his assistance, Ziegenbalg occupied his time during the voyage in translating part of the Old Testament into the Tamul, and in composing a grammar of that language in Latin, which was printed at Halle, in 1716, and is still highly esteemed by Oriental scholars. On the 1st of June, 1715, Ziegenbalg arrived at Bergen, in Norway, from whence he repaired to Stralsund, in Pomerania, for the purpose of presenting himself and his Hindoo companion to the King of Denmark, who was then personally engaged at the siege of that place. After a most gracious reception by that monarch, who conferred upon him the title of "Inspector of the Missions," he proceeded to Copenhagen, where he was most cordially welcomed, and made some arrangements with the Danish East India Company of considerable importance to the mission at Tranquebar. His next visit was to Professor Francke, at Halle, who took the liveliest interest in his labors, and who, both by his counsels and his contributions, was one of the principal supporters of his mission. While at that place, he married a lady to whom he had been long attached, and then pursued his course to England, where he landed towards the end of the year. Here he was received with the cordiality and respect to which he was so justly entitled. He had the honor of being presented to king George I., who made many inquiries respecting the mission, and assured him of his royal patronage. The Archbishop of Canterbury,*

* Dr. Wake.

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and the Bishop of London, treated him with the highest consideration and kindness. By the former of these prelates he was introduced to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and received a congratulatory address in Latin, to which he returned an admirable reply in Tamul, immediately adding a translation of his speech into Latin. The society made Ziegenbalg a liberal present both of money, paper, and books; and the Directors of the East India Company having generously given him a free passage on board one of their ships, he embarked at Deal on the 4th of March, and after rather a dangerous voyage, during which he improved his knowledge of the English language, landed at Madras on the 10th of August, 1716, where he was most hospitably received by the governor, and the Rev. Mr. Stevenson, chaplain to that presidency.

After a few days' refreshment at Madras, Ziegenbalg rejoined his excellent colleague, Grundler, at Tranquebar, and resumed with renewed vigor the arduous work of his mission. They immediately instituted a seminary for the education of native youths, to be employed as catechists and schoolmasters; and shortly afterwards, at the suggestion of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and with the assistance of Mr. Stevenson, and the approbation of the Governor of Madras, they established Tamul and Portuguese schools at Madras and Cuddalore. In the course of the following year, 1717, the church at Tranquebar having been much injured by an inundation, the missionaries built a second, and appropriated the old one to the instruction of catechumens and the burial of the dead. Ziegenbalg was incessantly occupied in the translation of the Bible into Tamul, in journies to some of the neighboring districts, and in religious discussions both with Hindoos and Mohammedans.

Amidst these labors he occasionally corresponded with the friends of the mission in Europe, and received from them the warmest assurances of approbation and support. Encouraged by the condescension of king George I., he addressed a letter to that monarch on the duty and expediency of diffusing the gospel in the British colonies in India. In reply to this communication, Ziegenbalg received a letter from his royal patron, strongly expressive

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of his majesty's interest in the success of the sacred cause in which he was engaged.*

But the labors of Ziegenbalg were drawing rapidly to a close. In the autumn of the year 1718 the health of this indefatigable man began to fail. He languished for a few months amidst great weakness and pain; and with a faint hope of relief from travelling, he commenced a journey along the coast. Having reached Cuddalore, he found his end approaching, and sent for his friend Grundler, to whom on his arrival he expressed the most humble yet exalted hope of heavenly happiness; and having received the holy communion, and requested a favorite Lutheran hymn to be sung, he expired in perfect peace, on the 23d of February, 1719, in the 36th year of his age, deeply lamented by his excellent colleague and the native converts, and esteemed and regretted even by the Pagans themselves.

The character of Ziegenbalg was indeed truly admirable. His exalted piety, and ardent zeal, were regulated by the soundest judgment, and tempered by dispositions and manners so kind and amiable, that he attracted and conciliated all around him; while his unwearied activity, patience, and perseverance, enabled him to overcome difficulties which to many would have proved insuperable, and to establish his mission upon the most solid foundation. His translation of the New Testament into Tamul, is alone sufficient to immortalize his name; and has proved, as he fervently implored, when he commenced this great undertaking, a source of incalculable and endless blessings to succeeding generations in India.

The loss sustained by the death of Ziegenbalg was in some measure repaired by the arrival, in the month of September following, of three new missionaries, Messrs. Schultz, Dahl, and Keistenmacher, who had embarked on board an English East Indiaman, after a short visit to this country, during which they experienced the usual kindness and munificence of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Such an accession to the mission was peculiarly seasonable and critical, the health of

* This, and a subsequent letter from his majesty to the Danish missionaries, together with a truly apostolic letter from Archbishop Wake, were introduced by Dr. Buchanan in his Ecclesiastical Memoir, and in his Christian Researches.

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Grundler having already suffered a severe shock, and being still extremely feeble and precarious. He exerted himself, however, with almost prophetic diligence and vigor in preparing his new colleagues for their various labors, as if anticipating the approaching conclusion of his own. This excellent man survived his beloved friend Ziegenbalg little more than a year. He had projected a distant journey, for the purpose of preaching the gospel, and in prosecution of this design had even embarked for Cuddalore; but finding himself unable to proceed, he returned to Tranquebar, where his illness rapidly increased. On the 15th of March 1720, Grundler performed his last public service, and three days afterwards resigned his pious spirit into the hands of his Redeemer, and was interred in the Mission Church, near the remains of his departed colleague.

Schultz now became the superior of the Danish mission, and proved himself worthy of following his admirable predecessors. The severe losses which it had recently sustained, excited the hopes of its Roman Catholic adversaries in India that it must be abandoned, and awakened the apprehensions of many even of its European friends.

The piety and energy of Schultz and his fellow missionaries, were, however, fully equal to this trying emergency. They labored diligently in the acquisition of the native languages, in which they were soon able to catechize and preach; and instead of yielding to despondency, they enlarged the sphere of their labors. Aided by the liberal contributions of the governors of Madras and Fort St. David, and of other friends both in India and Europe, they increased the number of their schools, and of their publications from the press, and resumed the visits of their predecessors to the neighboring towns and villages. Within five years from the death of Ziegenbalg, one hundred and fifty converts were added to the church.

In the year 1724, three additional missionaries, Messrs. Bosse, Pressier, and Walther, who had been selected by Professor Francke, and had sailed under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, arrived at Tranquebar. They were charged with a letter to Mr. Schultz, from Archbishop Wake, in which the venerable primate, after expressing his satisfaction at this augmenta-

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tion of the mission, recommended him to select from the native converts those who might appear to be the best qualified, and to associate them in case of necessity in his evangelical labors. Such was the ardor of the new missionaries in the study of the Portuguese and Tamul languages, which they had commenced during the voyage to India, that within three months after their arrival, they were able to enter upon their duties both as catechists and preachers.

Among the objects to which Schultz had directed his most earnest attention was the continuation of the translation of the Old Testament into Tamul, which Ziegenbalg had conducted only as far as the book of Ruth. He commenced this arduous undertaking early in the year 1723, and regularly devoted to it six hours every day. Schultz was well acquainted with the original Hebrew, and consulted most of the European versions. He was assisted by a learned brahmin and other well-informed natives, and the translation underwent a careful revision by his colleagues. This important work was concluded in 1725, and the first part of it was immediately committed to the press. In 1727 the printing was completed, when the delight of presenting to the native converts the whole Bible in their own language, made him forget all the toil and pains which it had cost him; while, in common with every other laborer in this sacred service, he had been abundantly repaid during its progress by those copious communications of divine wisdom and strength, with which a more intimate acquaintance with the Word of God had enriched his mind.

At the commencement of the year 1727 died the learned and pious Professor Francke, of Halle, who had contributed materially to the establishment of the Danish mission, and who, more than any other person in Europe, had labored zealously and successfully in its support. On the death of this able and excellent man, the Mission College at Copenhagen requested his son, who succeeded him in the professorship at Halle, to continue the correspondence which his father had so beneficially carried on in behalf of the mission. About the same time, his majesty King George I. addressed a second most encouraging letter to the missionaries at Tranquebar, who also received a considerable present in money, together with

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paper for the printing of the Tamul translation of the Bible, from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

In the year 1728, the same Society, on the recommendation of Mr. Schultz, undertook the sole patronage and support of a mission at Madras. With the assistance of the governor and council, a house was purchased in the Black Town for the use of the mission, of which Schultz took charge, and to which he immediately removed. There he preached constantly in the Tamul, Telinga, and Portuguese languages; and besides the superintendence of schools and other zealous labors, translated parts of the Bible, together with various tracts on religion, into Telinga and Hindostanee. The jealousy of the Roman Catholic priests, no less than of some native teachers, as in other places, excited considerable opposition, in some instances leading to open violence, against Schultz himself, as well as some of the Madras converts; but they were protected by the governor, their numbers gradually increased, and under the blessing of God the new mission prospered.

In the mean time, an opening had been providentially afforded for the introduction of Christianity into the kingdom of Tanjore, by means of a subaltern officer in the service of the rajah of that country, named Rajanaiken. This young man, whose father and grandfather were Roman Catholics, had been baptized in that church, and being ardently desirous of religious knowledge, he had learned to read when he was about twenty-two years of age. From the Roman Catholic legends, and from the priests themselves, he derived little or no satisfaction; but happening to visit a pandaram* of his acquaintance, who possessed a copy of Ziegenbalg's Tamul translation of the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, he was so delighted with the discovery, that he read it night and day, and transcribed a considerable part of the volume before he found that he might be permitted to retain it. About two years afterwards, having been sent on military duty to the neighborhood of Tranquebar, he met with an address of the missionaries to the natives, which induced him first to open a correspondence with them, and then

* A Hindoo devotee.

to visit them. In consequence of the instruction which he thus received, Rajanaiken became convinced of the errors of Popery, and cordially embraced the reformed doctrines; and such was the zeal of the new convert, that he immediately began to instruct his countrymen, both Pagan and Roman Catholic. The first fruits of his labors were three of his own soldiers, who were in the course of that year baptized at Tranquebar.

The example of Rajanaiken was soon followed by that of others. Surappen, a native who had been converted to the Roman Catholic faith, and was at that time employed as a catechist, perceiving the errors of the Romish church, sent his son Sattianaden to Tranquebar, to be instructed in the purer principles of the gospel. Surappen was in the mean time actively engaged, notwithstanding the opposition of the Roman Catholic missionaries, in making proselytes to the Protestant faith. A few months afterwards, Sattianaden conducted more than fifteen converts to be baptized at Tranquebar; and having offered his services in the propagation of the gospel, the missionaries established him as a catechist in the kingdom of Tanjore.* Though no undue means were resorted to by the Danish missionaries or their catechists, in the exercise of their Christian ministry, the jealousy of the Roman Catholics was so much excited by their progress, that they persecuted the father of Sattianaden till they compelled him to return to the communion of their church, and even refused the rites of sepulture to his grandmother, though she died in the Roman Catholic faith.

Rajanaiken was also exposed to their persecutions. He was now in the service of the prince of Marava, and being confirmed in his attachment to Christianity by frequent visits to Tranquebar, he was unwearied in his endeavors to communicate it to his companions. He succeeded in convincing several who had embraced the Roman Catholic doctrines of their errors, and amongst others two inferior officers. The Popish catechists attempted in vain to regain them to their church. In a discussion upon religion, Rajanaiken supported his sentiments by such forcible appeals to the holy Scriptures, that his adversaries were unable to reply to them. He

* Niecamp, vol. ii. p. 197.

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then, together with his two friends, determined on quitting the military service, and, though at the sacrifice of his worldly interest, embraced that of the mission. The Roman Catholic priests became, in consequence, more bitter than ever in their persecution of the Protestant converts, circulated the most calumnious accusations against Luther and the reformed doctrine, and even excited their followers to various acts of personal violence against Rajanaiken and his family. Their opposition, however, not only failed in checking the progress of the mission, but even tended to promote its success. Numbers both of Pagans and Mohammedans, as well as Roman Catholic Christians, resorted to Tranquebar for instruction; the access to the kingdom of Tanjore, which had been closed against Ziegenbalg, was effectually opened, and a journey shortly afterwards undertaken by Mr. Pressier into that country was attended by the happiest effects. At the same time, Mr. Schultz and Messrs. Walther and Bosse preached with success along the coast of Coromandel.

In the course of the following year died Malejappen, the schoolmaster who had accompanied Ziegenbalg to Europe. He was an excellent translator, and much attached to the interests of the mission. Several other natives, who died about the same period, gave the most satisfactory evidences of their faith in the gospel.

The progress of the missions, both at Tranquebar and Madras, now requiring additional help, two new missionaries, Messrs. Worm and Reichsteig, were appointed to the former, and a third, Mr. Sartorius, was taken under the immediate patronage of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the service of the latter station. They arrived at Madras in August, 1730, and were received by Mr. Schultz with cordial delight and joy. Messrs. Worm and Reichsteig, after a stay of three weeks, pursued their journey to Tranquebar; Mr. Sartorius remained at Madras, and applied with such diligence to the study both of the Portuguese and Tamul, that he soon acquired a facility in speaking those languages, and was able to converse with the natives of the neighboring villages.

The Madras mission, which had been supported by the late governor, Macrae, was equally favored by the protection of his successor, Mr. Pitt; and towards the end of the year 1731, Mr. Schultz received a most encouraging

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letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied by a present of four hundred and twenty pagodas, which enabled him to repay a sum which he had borrowed, and to establish a second school for native children. In acknowledging this liberal donation, Schultz took occasion to solicit of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge still further assistance in the work of the mission. Mr. John Ernest Giesler, of Halle, was in consequence recommended to the Society, and together with Mr. Cnoll, who was appointed to act as physician to the mission, embarked at Deal in July, 1732, and safely reached Madras.

Thus strengthened, the missionaries at that presidency proceeded with fresh vigor in their various labors, and the blessing of God evidently accompanied them. Amongst others, in conjunction with their brethren at Tranquebar, they visited Mr. Engelbert, the chaplain at Negapatam, and assisted him in his zealous endeavors to promote Christianity in the Dutch settlements on that coast. In these attempts Mr. Worm was particularly distinguished by the ability with which he conversed with the natives, convinced them of their errors, and conciliated their confidence, and in many instances he was successful in persuading them to embrace the gospel.*

The missionaries having long derived essential assistance from the labors of the native catechists, and the numbers of converts in the neighboring districts being now very considerable, deemed it highly expedient to provide for the discharge of the higher functions of the ministry by one of their own countrymen. For this important purpose they selected one of the catechists named Aaron, a man of respectable family, who had been baptized by Ziegenbalg, and who had for many years been distinguished both by his personal piety and by his talents and usefulness as a teacher. At the close of the year 1733, the missionaries from Madras united with their brethren at Tranquebar and the chaplains of the Danish factory, in ordaining him to the work of the ministry, according to the rites of the Lutheran church. He was at this time about thirty-five years of age, and his long white pastoral robe, like that of the Syrian clergy, corres-

* Niecamp, vol. iii. p. 33—35.

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ponded with the mild and amiable character of his appearance and manner. The mother and sister of Aaron had also embraced Christianity. The duty of the new minister was to preach and administer the sacraments alternately in a district of Tanjore, comprising several congregations of Christians; and such was the success with which he labored, that in the course of the following year he had been the instrument of converting no less than fifty of his countrymen to the faith of the gospel. The services of the catechists, particularly of Rajanaiken, had been at the same time eminently beneficial.

The translation of the Bible into the Hindostanee language, which had been completed in 1732 by the learning and diligence of Mr. Schultz, though not printed till some years afterwards, was a work from which the missionaries anticipated much advantage in their labors in that quarter.

Mr. Sartorius having, in his late journey to Tranquebar, spent some days at Fort St. David, the governor expressed his readiness to assist in forming a mission in that neighborhood. On communicating this intelligence to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Mr. Schultz was directed in the next despatch to take measures for that purpose. That zealous missionary having at the same time reported the want of adequate accommodation for preaching the Word of God in the only house then occupied by the mission at Madras, the Society immediately obtained the consent of the Court of Directors to build a church and two schools at that presidency, under the superintendence of the governor of Fort St. George and the agents of the Society. Instructions were accordingly sent to their correspondents to commence those buildings, in the hope that though their present remittances would not be sufficient for so considerable a work, the providence of God would enable them to complete it the following year.

The attention of the missionaries at Tranquebar was in the year 1735 directed to the practicability of extending their Christian labors to Bengal, and they had written to request the assistance of their friends in England in carrying this design into execution, and had received their cordial acquiescence, when it was painfully interrupted by the premature loss of two of their number, Messrs.

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Reichsteig and Worm. These excellent men had been companions on the voyage to India, and had during nearly five years been zealous and indefatigable in the discharge of the laborious and self-denying duties of the mission. They died at Tranquebar within three weeks of each other, leaving a very powerful testimony to the truth and value of the principles and promises of the gospel. Mr. Worm, who had been a pupil of the celebrated Buddæus, professor of divinity at Jena, was a man of superior talents and acquirements, and admirably qualified to promote the cause of Christianity in India. His loss was therefore severely felt by his colleagues; but amidst the regret of being thus early called from the service of his Lord upon earth, and of being separated from an affectionate wife and an infant daughter, he expressed in striking terms the peace which he enjoyed, and his lively hope of future happiness. His widow and child, however, survived him only a few weeks.*

Among the literary labors of the missionaries at this period, besides the printing of the Portuguese Bible, were a grammar in Tamul and German, and a History of the Church, composed by Mr. Walther in Tamul, and printed in 1735. This latter work was occasioned by a request of the catechist Rajanaiken, to be informed as to the origin and progress of the errors of the Church of Rome, in order that he might be better prepared to reply to the objections, and to refute the false opinions of the Roman Catholics. This ecclesiastical history, which overturned the pretended antiquity of the Romish Church, and which was extremely useful to the country catechists, was particularly designed for the instruction of the pupils of the seminary, who were to be educated as catechists and schoolmasters. About the same time Mr. Sartorius completed the Tamul Dictionary which had been commenced by Ziegenbalg.

The presents sent to the missionaries at Tranquebar and Madras, from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, amounted, in the year 1736, to no less a sum than £1,500, and in the following year, to £1,700 sterling; while the collections in Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, on several occasions, exceeded three thousand crowns. The zeal and liberality of professor Francke, of Halle,

* Niecamp, vol. iii. p. 124.

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in promoting these subscriptions, are frequently mentioned in their reports.

The mission which the governor of Fort St. George had promised to support, was in the year 1737 established by Messrs. Sartorius and Giesler, at the neighboring town of Cuddalore. The missionaries had often preached there; and though at first the native inhabitants were indisposed to hear them, great numbers were in process of time persuaded to embrace the gospel. This branch, however, of the Madras mission did not long enjoy the benefit of Mr. Sartorius' labors. That active and valuable missionary died the next year, and was buried at Cuddalore; all the English gentlemen there attending his funeral. His loss was particularly felt, on account of his remarkable skill in the Tamul language; the most learned natives acknowledging that he spoke it like a brahmin. The death of Mr. Sartorius was followed by that of Mr. Pressier, at Tranquebar, after twelve years of faithful and effective service in that mission. The loss, however, of these pious men, was happily repaired, by the arrival of three new missionaries, viz., Mr. Wiedebrœck, and Messrs. Obuch and Kolhoff, who had studied for some years at Halle. The mission was farther strengthened, by the embarkation, in the year 1739, of Mr. Kiernander, who had been a teacher in the Orphan House, and was recommended by professor Francke to succeed Mr. Sartorius in the mission at Cuddalore. He was accompanied by Messrs. Fabricius and Zegler, from the Royal Mission College at Copenhagen, whose immediate destination was to Tranquebar. By the ship in which these missionaries sailed, thirteen chests, valued at £1,500, including, besides books, and printing and other paper, foreign silver for the use of the mission, were sent as usual, free of freight, by the kindness of the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

In the year 1740, Mr. Schultz, in addition to the preparation of some native youths for the service of the mission, as catechists and schoolmasters, accomplished the important point of commencing a Tamul school for the children of heathen parents, under a Christian schoolmaster. He began with eight boys, sons of merchants and tradesmen at Cuddalore, and indulged the hope that this measure would not only lead to a more intimate

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acquaintance with the inhabitants, but, by the blessing of God, tend to the introduction of Christianity among the natives. In this year the missionaries and catechists at Tranquebar were remarkably favored by the numbers added to their congregations. They also nearly completed their new school buildings; while at Cuddalore the mission under the care of Mr. Giesler was gradually prospering.

With the approbation of the Mission College at Copenhagen, they, at the close of the year, ordained the catechist Diego, who had long been most diligently and faithfully engaged in that humble but useful employment, to assist the native preacher, Aaron, who was now become infirm, and unable to perform his ministerial duties to a large congregation.

The general cause of the mission sustained a great loss in the year 1742, by the return to Europe of Mr. Schultz, in consequence of ill health, after more than twenty years' residence in India. His place was immediately supplied by Mr. Fabricius, who entered upon the arduous duties of that station with that deep humility and dependence on the providence and grace of God, which formed the best security for the success of his labors.

The enlargement of their missions had now for some time pressed heavily on the funds of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and they even began to fear that they should not be able to meet its increasing expenditure. They were, however, encouraged by "a most friendly and Christian letter from professor Francke, full of good-will towards the missions at Madras and Cuddalore," and remitting £250 towards their support. Animated by this seasonable aid, they requested that excellent man to provide two additional missionaries for those stations, trusting, as they piously declared,* "that the same wise and good providence of God which had hitherto blessed them in all their undertakings to spread the pure gospel of his Son Christ Jesus in all parts of the world, would raise up benefactors to contribute whatever might be wanted towards it." Accordingly, in the following year professor Francke sent out, at his own charge, the Rev. Messrs. Breithaupt and Klein, to Tranquebar; and

* Reports of the Society.

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out of his affectionate regard to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, he remitted a further sum of £300 towards the support of the two missions at Madras and Cuddalore. Two years afterwards, the same liberal and zealous benefactor sent an additional donation of 200*l.*; on which occasion the Society expressed its earnest wishes for the general diffusion of the truly Christian spirit which animated that distinguished friend to the cause of missions.

The annual reports of the Society at this period contain many gratifying statements of the successful labors of the missionaries. The two native preachers, Aaron and Diego, in their travels through the villages of the district which had been assigned to them, were eminently useful; and so numerous were their converts in some of them, that it became necessary, according to the custom of the country, to appoint a Christian warden or superintendent over them. The former of these pious men finished his course in June 1745, after eleven years of diligent service as an itinerant pastor and teacher, having, during that period, been the means of converting many hundred souls. His end appears to have been hastened by his journeyings and fatigues; and such was his amiable character, and his holy and exemplary conduct, that he was almost equally lamented by the missionaries, and by his native countrymen.

The death of Mr. Obuch, one of the missionaries at Tranquebar, followed shortly after that of the pastor Aaron. He was, according to the testimony of his colleagues, a most faithful and affectionate brother, conscientious in the discharge of his duty, and persevering in it even to the disregard of life, so that he might fulfil the ministry which he had received, and finish his course with joy.

The war between France and England, which commenced in 1744, having extended to India, in September 1746, a French fleet appeared off Madras; and having landed a body of troops, after a bombardment of five days, Fort St. George was compelled to capitulate. The French commander at first promised to protect the mission; but soon afterwards, having ordered a great part of the Black, or native, Town to be levelled with the ground, for the purpose of improving the defence of Madras, the Mission House was destroyed, and the church converted

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into a magazine. Upon this unexpected calamity, Mr. Fabricius retired with the children of the mission school to Pulicat, a Dutch settlement in the neighborhood, where the governor gave them a kind and hospitable reception. Here, with the assistance of a catechist and two schoolmasters, he took charge not only of the Christians who were with him, but of the converts near Madras, constantly visiting the villages around him to disseminate the principles of the gospel. On the restoration of peace in 1748, Mr. Fabricius returned to Madras, and through the good offices of Admiral Boscawen, the English mission, after some delay, obtained possession of a spacious church at Vepery near the town, with the houses and gardens attached to it, which had belonged to the Roman Catholic missionaries, but from which they had been expelled, on account of their treasonable communications with the French during the war. It is due to the memory of Mr. Fabricius, to notice his zeal and charity during this critical period, in abating nearly one third of his salary, and living himself in the simplest manner, carrying the fruits of his self-denying economy to the account of the mission fund. The Romish church at Cuddalore was at the same time transferred by the governor of Fort St. David to Mr. Kiernander, by the name of Christ's Church, for the use of the missionaries of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and as a place of public worship for the increase of the Protestant religion.

Having thus reviewed the origin and progress of the missions at Tranquebar and Madras, up to the year in which the venerable subject of the following Memoirs embarked for India, a brief recapitulation of the actual state of the missions at that period, and of the success which had attended their various labors, may properly close this preliminary sketch.

It appears by the returns regularly made to the Mission College at Copenhagen, and to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, that from the arrival of Ziegenbalg in 1706, to the year 1750, the numbers of the converts at Tranquebar, and in the towns and villages of the neighboring districts, to which the missionaries and their catechists and teachers had access, amounted to nearly eight thousand; and that from the year 1728 to the same

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period, the converts at Madras and Cuddalore, and along the coast of Coromandel, might be estimated at more than one thousand. Of these a very small proportion were proselytes from the Roman Catholic faith; though such is the general ignorance of the converts from heathenism by the missionaries of that church, that, with the exception of a few unmeaning forms, they could scarcely be considered as differing from their pagan countrymen. A few instances occurred of conversion from the Mohammedans, but their well-known prejudice and bigotry rendered these extremely rare. The great majority of the Protestant converts were native Hindoos or their children, chiefly, as might be expected, though by no means exclusively, even at that period, of the lower castes of the inhabitants.

It is not intended to be asserted that all these converts were well-informed and consistent Christians; but one of the principal features in the history of these Protestant missions is, the unwearied diligence and the scrupulous care and conscientious fidelity, with which the missionaries and other teachers labored to prepare their catechumens for baptism, and to instruct their congregations in the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, and the primitive discipline which they exercised over them. Their periodical reports afford many unquestionable proofs and most interesting memorials of the faith and piety of their converts, many examples of Christian virtue, and many instances of opposition and persecution, "for righteousness' sake," sustained with a steadfastness, meekness, and patience well worthy of the purest ages of the church, the genuineness and authenticity of which cannot fairly be doubted. Many a death-bed scene also is recorded in these reports,* in which the dying Hindoo, and not unfrequently the *female* convert, expressed with intelligence, humility, and ardent gratitude, the heartfelt penitence, the holy dispositions, and the heavenly hopes of the true Christian. Even where the instructions and exhortations of the missionaries failed of producing any effectual change

* Upon all these points the original acts of the Danish mission in German, or the admirable abridgment of them by Niecamp, either in Latin in two volumes quarto, or in the French translation of M. Gaudard, with a preface by professor Francke, may be advantageously consulted.

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of religious profession, there was often a strong conviction on the native mind of the folly of idolatry, and the truth of Christianity as a divine revelation; and a very general impression was evident in its favor from the unwearied and disinterested labors, and the holy and exemplary lives of the Christian teachers. Nor was this all. The dispersion of the various translations of the holy Scriptures, and the distribution of numerous tracts and treatises, printed at the Tranquebar press, tended to disseminate Christian knowledge and Christian principles, far beyond the narrow limits of the Protestant missions and their immediate vicinity, and to prepare the way for that more extensive diffusion of the gospel in India, which we have happily lived to witness.

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MEMOIR

OF

THE REV. C. F. SWARTZ.

CHAPTER I.

Early life and Education of Swartz.—His removal to Halle.—Proposal to go out as a Danish missionary to Tranquebar.—He obtains the consent of his father.—His Ordination.—Departure for England, and kind reception by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.—He embarks for India.—Account of his voyage.—He arrives at Tranquebar.—First occupations at the Mission.

THOUGH the honor of originating the first Protestant mission to India belongs, as we have seen, to Denmark, it is remarkable that, from its commencement, the majority of those who have been engaged in its service, have been natives of Germany. Of this number was the distinguished subject of these Memoirs.

Christian Frederick Schwartz,* was born at Sonnenburg, a small town in the Electorate of Brandenburgh, now the kingdom of Prussia, on the 26th of October, 1726. His father's name was George, and his station in life appears to have been respectable. The family name

* This, it is scarcely necessary to observe, is the correct orthography of his name, and that which he used in the earlier period of his life; but as, during the greater part of it, he invariably adopted, both in corresponding with his friends, and in public documents, the simpler form, probably from its more easy pronunciation, and is by this generally known, he will be thus designated in the following Memoirs.

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of his mother was Gruner. This pious woman died during his infancy; but on her death-bed, she in the most solemn manner informed her husband and the pastor who attended her, that she had dedicated her son to the Lord, and obtained a promise from them both, that he should be trained up in the remembrance of this sacred destination; and that if he should in due time express a desire to be educated for the ministry, they would cherish and promote it to the utmost of their power.

At the age of eight years young Swartz was sent to the principal grammar school at Sonnenburg, where, together with the elements of classical learning, he received many good impressions from the moral and religious instructions of its rector, Mr. Helm. This excellent person particularly enforced upon his pupils the importance of private devotion, and encouraged them to offer up their petitions in language suggested by their own feelings. Swartz afterwards declared, that even at that early age he used frequently to retire from his youthful companions into solitude, and there pour out his heart before God; that he found this practice highly beneficial, and that when conscious especially of having acted wrong, he could never regain tranquillity of mind, until he had earnestly implored the divine forgiveness.

On the removal of Mr. Helm by his entrance on ministerial duty, his successor neglected the religious improvement of his scholars, and Swartz became comparatively indifferent.

Having now acquired as much knowledge of Latin and Greek as the school of his native place could afford him, together with the rudiments of Hebrew, he was sent to an academy at the neighboring town of Custrin, to pursue his studies, and to be qualified for the university. The father of Swartz, who was evidently a man of sense and piety, had always accustomed him to much simplicity and self-denial. He walked on foot with him to Custrin, where he consigned him to the care of his new master, and, unlike the parents of two of his young friends from the same town, allowed him no more money than was required for his necessary expenses. Here, by associating with some thoughtless companions, his heart became still more alienated from God, though he endeavored to preserve a correct deportment. Occasionally, his good im-

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pressions were revived by the animated discourses of the Rev. Mr. Stegmann, one of the parochial ministers of Custrin; but he imagined that it was not possible for him, while he remained there, to lead a religious life, having no just conception at that time of the nature of genuine piety, and not perceiving the necessity of divine strength to enable him to persevere in a Christian course. While at this place, happily for his future improvement, he became acquainted with one of the Syndics, who had formerly been a student at Halle, and who retained great respect for the professors of that university. The daughter of this gentleman, who appears to have taken a lively interest in the young scholar, endeavored to point out to him his previous errors, and to convince him of the importance of greater decision of character. She lent him several books, among which was the remarkable narrative of the rise and progress of the Orphan House at Glaucha, near Halle, entitled "Demonstrations of the footsteps of a divine Being yet in the World," by the celebrated Augustus Hermann Francke. This extraordinary work made a deep impression upon his mind. It first inspired him with a wish to visit Halle, and proved, in fact, the turning point of his future destination. When reviewing, however, this period of his life, Swartz afterwards observed that he was diligent in study, but chiefly from worldly motives; and that twice in seasons of dangerous illness he had resolved to devote himself entirely to God, but that he soon forgot his good resolutions.

On his return from Custrin, well prepared by his progress in learning for the university, and having exhibited in his general conduct a striking contrast to that of his two companions from Sonnenburg, his father, referring to the strict economy which he had exercised with respect to his expenses, thus addressed him: "My dear Frederick, you may, perhaps, have sometimes repined on comparing your homely food and clothing with that of others: and possibly you may have thought that your father did not love you so much as the parents of some of your friends; but I trust that your own good sense, and the painful example of their failure will have led you to perceive my reasons for inuring you to hardships, and never encouraging you in self-indulgence. I may now justly hope that in whatever situation it may please God

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to place you, you will be qualified to sustain it:"— a sentiment which was virtually prophetic of his future arduous and self-denying career.

In the year 1746 Swartz proceeded to Halle, with a view of attending the Grammar School of the Orphan House; but his distinguished countryman, Schultz, who, as we have seen, had returned from the Madras mission three years before, and was then residing at Halle, advised him to enter the university at once, as he had attained his twentieth year, and was already sufficiently grounded in elementary knowledge. He accordingly followed this advice, and diligently attended the lectures of the professors Baumgarten, Michaelis, Knapp, and Freylinghausen, boarding and lodging in the mean time at the Orphan House. While pursuing his studies there, he was chosen to be preceptor to the Latin classes, and to assist in the evening assemblies for prayer, appointed by the venerable founder to be held with the attendants and servants of the institution. These pious employments were highly beneficial to him; and, together with the instruction which he received at the devotional meetings, under the direction of the Rev. G. F. Weiss, Inspector of the German School, and his intercourse with the learned and pious professor Francke, confirmed him in the determination of devoting himself to God, and established him in that truly Christian course, the excellence of which his subsequent life so strikingly displayed.

It was at this time in contemplation to print a new edition of the Bible, in Tamul, at Halle, under the superintendence of the late missionary Schultz, who was also carrying through the press a devotional tract, which he had translated into the same language, for the purpose of distribution in India. In connection with another of the students, Swartz was recommended to acquire some knowledge of Tamul, in order to qualify him to assist in correcting the printing of these works; but though the intended edition of the Bible was not eventually carried into execution, this study occupied him for several months, and probably first directed his mind towards the sphere of his future labors. While thus engaged, Swartz learned that professor Francke was making inquiries for new missionaries to India; and though the idea of such an em-

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ployment had but recently occurred to him, he determined, if he could obtain his father's approbation, to offer himself for that important work.

For this purpose he made a journey to his native place. But here every thing seemed unfavorable; for, being the eldest son, he was considered the chief prop of the family, and no member of it would believe that his father could be brought to consent to such a project. Swartz, however, stated his wishes, together with the motives which influenced him, with great seriousness and solemnity, to his father; who, instead of putting an immediate negative upon the proposal, as had been expected, replied, that he would take two or three days to consider of it, and fixed a time for declaring his determination. The important day arrived; and the family waited with divided anxiety for the decision; the young candidate for this arduous undertaking afraid of a refusal, though not afraid of a consent. At length, his father came down from his chamber, gave him his blessing, and bade him depart in God's name; charging him to forget his native country and his father's house, and to go and win many souls to Christ.

Having thus obtained his dismission, he hastened his departure; and, generously resigning his patrimony to his brothers and sisters, he returned to Halle. A few days afterwards, an advantageous offer was made to him of entering upon the ministry at home; but he felt that the die was cast, and that having deliberately put his hand to the plough, it did not become him to look back. How manifestly this determination originated in the superintending providence of God, and was crowned with his blessing, the subsequent history of this eminent missionary has abundantly proved.

On the 8th of August, 1749, Swartz set out for Copenhagen, for the purpose of receiving holy orders, accompanied by two other new missionaries to India, Messrs. Poltzenhagen and Hutteman. They reached that city on the 23d, were examined on the 6th of September by Dr. Hersleb, Bishop of Zealand and Primate of Denmark, and ordained to the sacred ministry by Bishop Horreboa; and on the 19th they left Copenhagen on their return to Halle.

Every necessary preparation having been made for their

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intended voyage, the three missionaries took their leave of their pious and excellent friends in that university; and it being intended that they should proceed to India by way of England, they repaired to Helvoetsluys, where they embarked, and reached Harwich on the 6th of December; the next day they pursued their journey to Colchester, and on the 8th arrived in London. There they remained six weeks, during which time they were diligently employed in learning the English language, and in preparing for their important destination. Though they were not formally presented at any public meeting of the board, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge most kindly received and provided for them during their stay in this country. The following extracts translated from two letters of Swartz in German, to the Rev. Dr. Francke, contain some interesting particulars of their feelings and occupations from the time of their departure from Halle. The commencement of the first is very characteristic of his mind, and is dated from Kensington, 18th of December, 1749.

"God hath ordered all things well on the voyage. Our hearts (more especially mine) were very cheerful during the storming and raging of the sea; and I have frequently reminded myself of the 46th psalm with great joy. Praised be God! This ought to be the beginning, middle, and end of my letter. If God maketh this only to resound in our hearts, that he, Jehovah, our sun and shield, is with us, we can then not only be tranquil, but cheerful.

"Our occupations here have been of singular use, and a great refreshment to us. In every difficulty we could have recourse to the Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen, the venerable chaplain of his Majesty, who has behaved to us with paternal kindness, and has given us such plain directions as we, like inexperienced children, stood in need of. This was our daily occupation, to take lessons and receive instruction. Then we had also to preach a few sermons; I twice, namely, once in the royal chapel on the first day of the Nativity, and afterwards for the Rev. Mr. Pittius at the Savoy; Mr. Poltzenhagen four times, and Mr. Hutteman three. May God bless what has been spoken in great weakness!"

The directors of the East India Company having, at

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the request of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, kindly granted the three missionaries a free passage on board the Lynn, Captain Egerton, they proceeded to Deal to embark in that ship. The second letter referred to is dated from that port, January 24th, 1750, in which Swartz thus writes.

"The 10th of January, according to the old style, which is yet used here, or the 21st according to the new, was the day on which we left dear Kensington, where God bestowed so much grace upon us. On the preceding evening we were from seven till ten with his Majesty's chaplain, who said many things to the awakening of our hearts. He gave us the 120th psalm for meditation on our voyage. 'I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help.' Whatever could in any way contribute to our comfort and encouragement, that he did. On new year's day also he addressed us publicly from the pulpit, from these words, 'Be not afraid, only believe.' (Mark vi. 36.) At the same time he exhorted the congregation to pray for us. On the same evening he prayed again with us, commended us to the mercy of our God, and gave us some copies of his lately published Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. He then dismissed us with the cordial admonition, not to allow our brotherly love to cool. May God write all that we have heard deeply on our hearts!

"Thus we departed on the 21st of January, N. S., in the name of Jesus, accompanied by that trusty German, Matthieson, who has conducted all the missionaries from Mr. Walther* until now. On the 23d we arrived at Deal, in perfect health and spirits. Here we lodge in a house which is only a few paces from the shore, so that from our windows we see nothing but the sea. My heart is filled with cheerful confidence, being convinced that as God has taken us under his paternal care during our late travels, so will he likewise continue to be our Protector. If we will only cleave steadfastly to him, he will also most certainly be with us, and be our faithful God. And he will graciously hear the prayers with which we know so many of his children and servants accompany us. Now,

* In the year 1725.

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therefore, we go forth in the name of the Lord, who hath called us to be his servants and messengers among the heathen; who will also guide and bring us to the destined place."

The next letter which was addressed to the Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen, announces his actual embarkation.

"From on board the Lynn, off the Isle of Wight, near Portsmouth, Feb. 1, 1750.

"There comes a ship to bring us provisions, by which I send you a few lines. On the 29th of January we left Deal. God hath given us a favorable wind, with which we have already sailed past Portsmouth. Praised be his name, we are all well. Our cabin is below that of the captain. We are alone, for which we have thankfully to acknowledge the goodness of God. We are as conveniently accommodated as can be expected on board ship. God be praised for it! The captain is a good, plain-dealing man, and the other passengers show us much kindness. We talk English as yet very badly, but they all encourage us to speak, and no one laughs at our blunders. Several of them know a little Latin, and use their utmost endeavors to explain to us whatever we do not understand. We return hearty thanks to God for having brought us to this ship. Hitherto, he hath graciously preserved us, that no one has sustained any hurt, except that last night a sailor fell into the water; however, he was saved. The number of persons on board is about an hundred, and a few passengers. We pass our time in reading the holy Scriptures in the original languages, and other good books, and practise reading and writing English, according to your kind instruction. There are persons on board who go to India for pleasure. One of them goes for the fifth time, and says it is a very pleasant voyage. There are also many children on board who learn navigation. Now this I have written in haste. May Jesus bless you abundantly, and hear your prayers, and those of other children and servants of God for us! O, the Lord is faithful, and never yet forsook his people.

"C. F. SWARTZ."

The ship did not, however, proceed on its voyage so

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quickly as was expected. On the 3d of February Swartz wrote to Mr. Ziegenhagen as follows.

"Filial love requires us to make use of this opportunity of informing you of our circumstances. When we last wrote to you, we were off the Isle of Wight, and had a most favorable wind; but we were obliged to lay to for more than half a day, before the things which the ship brought us from Deal were taken on board. Towards evening we sailed, and by Monday had come already close to the Bay of Biscay. In the morning the wind veered about, and the captain found himself compelled to return to some harbor. Here the motion of the ship was so violent, that I experienced something of the sea sickness, but only for a few minutes. That day about four, we arrived off Falmouth. We were met by two pilots, and the captain engaged him who came first to the ship; but the other, on coming up, expressed his great dissatisfaction, not so much because he had not been engaged, as because the other had not conducted us aright. He disputed so long, that the first was obliged to go away. This morning we found that the man had just grounds for his displeasure. For when it was ebb tide, our ship had not sufficient water, but struck frequently against the ground with such a crash, as if a gun was fired. At the same time there was a great storm, so that we might have sustained much injury, if God had not preserved us. Now we praise him that we were forced to return; for in this storm we should have been in the greatest danger off the Spanish coast. Thus we daily perceive that his goodness preserves us. O that we might always look only to him, rest in his will, and filially resign ourselves to it! Our captain shows us great kindness. For the rest, I pray God daily, that he would purify my heart more and more from all dross, and by his Spirit fit me for the important office for which, unworthy as I am, he has, out of mere grace, ordained me. I rest assured that you also will daily beg this grace for myself, and my dear brethren.

"C. F. SWARTZ."

The ship was detained at Falmouth by contrary winds rather more than a month; but this delay was amply compensated by its escape from the storms which, as it

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afterwards appeared, some others had encountered; in noticing which circumstance, many years afterwards, one of the brethren at Tranquebar took occasion to observe, that during the century which had elapsed since the commencement of the Danish mission, and in the course of which about fifty missionaries had sailed to India, no vessel which contained any one of them had perished.

In the following letter addressed to professor Francke, Swartz, with a fervor and simplicity of expression peculiar to the German language, gives a detailed account of the continuance of their voyage, and of their safe arrival in India. It is dated from Tranquebar, October 8, 1750.

"We can now joyfully relate how graciously God hath heard your supplications to his goodness for us. With undeserved grace and mercy he hath brought us, hath graciously averted all perils on our long voyage, mightily refreshed us during the course of it both in soul and body, and caused us to reach the end of it speedily and happily, in four months and four days. We could scarcely have imagined, that he would so paternally and graciously guide us. His name be humbly praised and glorified now and in eternity!

"In order to give you, reverend sir, a somewhat detailed account of this gracious guidance of our God, that you may magnify his name with us, I shall briefly relate the most important particulars from our diary, not having yet found time to copy the diary itself, which your Reverence will kindly excuse.

"How God conducted us into Falmouth harbor, and what we there noticed to his praise, you will have observed from the short letter which we wrote on the day of our departure. On the 12th of March 1750, God gave us a good wind, and every thing was prepared for sailing. But the tide being then at ebb, we were obliged to wait till the evening, as we could not otherwise get safely out of the harbor. In the afternoon, an inhabitant of the town came on board, who had been powerfully awakened by Mr. Whitefield. This man related to us many things, particularly of the minister at Falmouth—how zealous he was in the discharge of his duty. We regretted that we had not visited him; and as the stranger intimated that he would salute him from us, we sent the minister professor

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Zimmermann's Treatise on the Excellency of the Knowledge of Christ, translated into Latin, in which we wrote a few lines.

"About seven in the evening we sailed, in the name of God, out of the harbor, with a man of war, which we thought was to escort us; but the next day we learned that she was to escort the Norfolk. With this divine dispensation, we were well satisfied, believing that we should not need that convoy, if we could only say with David, (Ps. xlvi. 7.) 'The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge.' If the Lord be for us, who or what can be against us? We met a Dutch ship, from Smyrna to Rotterdam, the captain of which informed us, that he had suffered much from the late severe storms, whilst we were quietly in the harbor. On the 16th, we were met by two ships, which exhibited a sad spectacle. One of them had sprung a large leak, and drew several feet of water, so that she lay very deep, and rolled from side to side. Our captain backed the sails, and sent the carpenter, with an officer, and some others, to see whether they could assist; but on their return, they declared that the vessel must sink. The other ship, therefore, kept quite close to the damaged one, that the people might save themselves.

"On the 21st of March, I had a fever, which continued till the 10th of April. As I fell away so much, the doctor was alarmed; but God helped me graciously, and soon restored to me my bodily strength. I must also confess, to his praise, that this sickness has been of great service to me. On the 22d of March, we had, for the first time, divine service on board our ship, which afforded us great pleasure. On the 29th, we passed the tropic of Cancer; and on the 18th of April, we crossed the line, for the first time. There was great joy on board, that we had not been detained longer. On the 22d, we were in the height of Ascension. The 30th, God visibly preserved a youth from death, who had entered on board to learn navigation. A thick cable fell down from above, exactly on the spot where he was standing; but before it reached him, he perceived it, and narrowly escaped. Towards evening, a ship was seen. We rejoiced at first, hoping for an opportunity of sending letters; but our joy had nearly been changed to fear,

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as our people began to think they might be enemies, and made preparations for defence. Early the next morning we looked out for her, but in vain. On the 5th of May, we passed the tropic of Capricorn, and thus left the torrid zone. As soon as the trade wind ceased, we were favored with a delightful breeze from E. N. E. If we attend to the different changes of winds, we may observe agreeable traces of the admirable wisdom of God. On the 7th, we saw a French vessel, and, on our captain firing a signal gun, to desire them to wait, they did so, and we came up with her towards evening. The captains conversed with each other on their observations, and ours agreed pretty well with theirs. It was a great advantage that we could observe so well in our ship; for even in hazy weather, the sun appeared a little about noon. The chief mate requested us to communicate the observations contained in our diaries, particularly with regard to the variation of the compass. We did so, and he gratefully acknowledged it, by giving us a fine large Cheshire cheese.* The 11th of May, we had a very high wind, and the next day a calm. While we spoke of it in the evening, and sighed to God that he would have pity on us, as before, suddenly there arose a very favorable breeze. Thus God fulfilled to us what he has promised—'Before they call, I will answer; and while they are yet speaking, I will hear.' So that we could praise God with joyful hearts. On the 17th of May, we celebrated the Feast of Pentecost, and heartily besought God that, by his Spirit, whom Jesus has obtained, he would fit us for the important office to which he has called us. The 19th of May, our dear brother Hutteman was seized with alarming sickness; but God most graciously blessed the use of the medicines out of the travelling chest which you gave us, so that he was fully restored to us in a few days. On the 23d we had an unusually brisk gale; the ship inclined so much, that it shipped water, which we had not hitherto seen. However, it passed over without damage. On the 27th, we had a complete calm, so that the captain and the chief mate

* This is always an acceptable present in India, and was frequently among the gratuities sent out by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to their missionaries.

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went out in a boat, to shoot birds; but in the following night arose a real storm, which, as it came unexpectedly, tore all the sails. When we came upon deck in the morning, they all hung in rags, and we had only one small sail hoisted. We did not, however, yield to anxious or desponding thoughts. So faithful is God! In need he refresheth, and comforteth abundantly. The 30th of May, we had very pleasant weather, which was a great relief after the storm. On the 31st, we saw a Dutch ship. We all wished that it might approach us, but were disappointed, as it passed us at a considerable distance; but in the afternoon our joy was the greater, as we got a sight of the Cape. The mountains presented themselves at a distance, like clouds; but as we came nearer, we could see them distinctly. We praised God heartily, the more so, as we had on this very day been powerfully impressed in meditating on the words, (1 Cor. xv. 58.) 'Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labor will not be in vain in the Lord.'

"From this time, we began to look out for India, and thought we had now left the worst behind. But on the 17th of June, in the night, we had a most furious storm, in which all declared we were in great danger. Even the next day it was frightful to behold, and it was much heightened by the heavy rain which accompanied the wind. Meanwhile, when the tempest was at the highest, we slept in peace and quiet: a gracious God had hidden the danger from us. On the 19th, there was a pretty strong breeze. A rope, with which a sail was belayed, happened to break, which caused the ship to heel a little, and all at once we lay on our side. The captain called out to the men at the helm to put the ship about; but they could not accomplish it. The vessel had inclined altogether to one side, and was, moreover, quite wet from the rain, so that the people fell as they attempted to walk on the deck. However, the storm at length subsided, and we sustained no material injury. In how many distresses hath not our gracious God covered us, as it were, with his wings! On the 30th of June, we passed the tropic of Capricorn a second time. Now we came again into a pleasant climate; hitherto we had sometimes

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very cold weather. The 4th of July the rope at the helm broke, and, as the wind happened to blow fresh, the ship fell into some disorder. On the 10th, we again crossed the line. The 13th was a most agreeable day; for we then came in sight of Ceylon. The chief mate discovered it about nine in the morning. The joy which this produced on board is hardly to be described, since the greater number scarcely expected that we should make it so directly. We said, 'This hath God done!' O, how great is his goodness, and how graciously doth he hear our prayers! May the kindness which he hath showed us in this instance, serve to strengthen us in filial confidence!

"This day and the following, we enjoyed the delightful smell of cinnamon. At the same time, we had a most favorable wind, so that, during the day, we passed at a good distance by the rocks of Ceylon. On the 16th of July we were approaching the coast of Coromandel: every one, therefore, looked out eagerly for land; but the night drew on, and we could see none. About nine, we found a bottom at fifteen fathoms; and it was remarkable that, as soon as it was found, the wind ceased. We therefore dropped the anchor. In the morning, when we looked out, we not only beheld the coast, but found ourselves right opposite to Cuddalore. We praised the name of the Lord for this paternal guidance: and whosoever delights in the traces of his gracious providence will, on hearing it, exalt his name together.

"After we had cast anchor, the natives immediately came on board. The sight of these poor people, who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, deeply affected our hearts; and we awakened ourselves cheerfully to work at their conversion, and to recommend to them the salvation of the gospel. Now, the Lord vouchsafe to give us wisdom, grace, and strength, to accomplish this purpose, since we are most unworthy to be unto them 'a savor of life unto life.' We informed the Rev. Mr. Kiernander* of our arrival, and he sent in the afternoon a country boat to fetch us. There we took our leave of the officers and passengers, who had showed us every kindness. They were much moved at parting, and wished us every

* The Society's missionary at Cuddalore.

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blessing in our future ministry. May the Lord do good abundantly to them all! In the evening, dear Mr. Kiernander received us, and praised the name of the Lord for all the mercy he had shown us.

"I should now give an account of our occupations during the voyage. But as they were substantially the same as those of our predecessors, that is, preparing ourselves for our duty in the best manner we were able, I shall be brief. Every morning and evening, and frequently during the day, we stirred up ourselves by joint prayer and meditation on the holy Scriptures, by which God graciously refreshed us. Afterwards, each of us, apart, used either to meditate on some passage of Scripture, or read some other devotional book. From eleven to twelve, we practised reading English together, besides what each afterwards read for himself. The German Mission Accounts, hitherto edited, five volumes and a half, we have partially perused. Mr. Niecamp's Abridgment, and the first volume, we have nearly read through. This occupation we have found to be of great advantage. We also kept a diary; but as in many places it is rather illegibly written, in consequence of the rolling of the vessel, and we do not wish to send it so, we shall by the first ships send one fair copy of it to your Reverence, and one to the Mission College.

"On the 24th of July, the Rev. Senior of the Danish missionaries, Mr. Wiedebrœck, came from Tranquebar to fetch us. He joined us in hearty praises to God for all his mercies. After having therefore visited several English gentlemen, we departed on the 28th from Cuddalore. Dear Mr. Kiernander accompanied us as far as the first river, and there took leave of us. On the 30th we arrived at Tranquebar in perfect health, and were most fraternally received by our dear brethren. Now hitherto the Lord hath helped us. To him be glory for ever and ever!

"Our present occupation can be described in a few words. At seven in the morning we begin, and practise Tamul almost the whole forenoon. Three days in every week Mr. Maderup comes to us at ten, and gives us a lesson in Portuguese. From two to three in the afternoon we again read Tamul. Afterwards, every one remains alone till five. From five to six, I and dear brother

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Hutteman practice speaking Tamul. We have Christopher with us, who affords us wonderful help in that language, because he talks German fluently; and where we make mistakes, he corrects us. The Rev. Mr. Zeglin is holding at this time a preparation for baptism with some heathen, at which we also attend, as we begin already to understand a little. We perceive that God helps us on from day to day. Dear brother Poltzenhagen and I live together. We do not, however, provide for our diet, as Mr. Kohlhoff has taken us to his table. In the morning and evening we excite each other by joint prayer and reading the word of God.

"This is the principal intelligence which I can at present impart to your Reverence.

"C. F. SWARTZ."

The providential escape of Swartz and his brethren from shipwreck, though not noticed in the preceding letter, crowned the mercies of their voyage. The vessel in which they sailed was lost in the river soon after their landing at Cuddalore.

Such was the diligence with which Swartz pursued the study of Tamul, that, on the 23d of November, that is, in less than four months after his arrival in India, he preached his first sermon in Ziegenbalg's Church, called New Jerusalem, from Matthew xi. 25—30. Having pointed out the invitation of Christ to all to come to him for the blessings of heavenly rest and peace, and observed that they could only be obtained in the order here prescribed by the Redeemer, he earnestly exhorted all who were present not to think lightly of this gracious offer; and thus exhibited, in his first address to the Heathen, the very spirit of that gospel which he was commissioned to proclaim, and which he continued unceasingly to recommend and to exemplify during his long and honorable career as a missionary in India.

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CHAPTER II.

Mr. Swartz enters on the Duties of a Missionary—His account of these in a Letter to a Friend—Careful preparation of Candidates for Baptism—Excursions to the Towns and Villages near Tranquebar—Letter to Dr. Struensee—Periodical Reports of the Danish Mission—Pious Custom of the Missionaries on proceeding upon a Journey—Visit of Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz to Cuddalore—Pastoral and weekly Conferences with their Brethren there—Return to Tranquebar.

No sooner had Mr. Swartz attained some knowledge of the native language, than he entered vigorously upon the discharge of the various duties of the Mission. Early in the year 1751, he commenced a daily catechetical exercise with the youngest children of the Tamul school, which consisted not merely in questioning them, and receiving their answers, but in explaining the principles of Christianity, in the order prescribed by the catechism, in the simplest manner, and by examples taken from common life, in familiar dialogues with the children. He also catechised the children of the Portuguese school alternately with Mr. Poltzenhagen, and preached in Portuguese in rotation with him and Mr. Maderup, another missionary, who had the superintendence of the Portuguese congregation. In addition to these stated occupations, Mr. Swartz held in this year two preparations for baptism with natives, and afterwards baptized many of the candidates. These, with other interesting particulars, are related with great simplicity and piety in his second letter from India, dated Sept. 28, 1751, and addressed to a clergyman at Halle, of which the following is an extract.

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"The manifold kindness which you showed me in my university years, induces me to address a letter to you from this country; the more so, as it was you who first gave me a hint that I should, perhaps, be asked to go to India. When I think of this, and of the first distant preparations made by the divine providence, I praise and humbly thank the only wise God. It is also a sweet comfort to my heart, that I am enabled to say, 'It is thou, O my God, who hast conducted me to these parts; I have not run hither of my own accord, but would rather have declined the call, if thy unseen hand had not retained me. O therefore help, and bestow upon me all necessary wisdom, grace, and strength, for this office!'

"My gracious God has already manifested so many proofs of his paternal love towards me, that I cannot but remember the word of the Lord Jesus, which he spake to upright Nathanael, (John i. 50.) 'Thou shalt see greater things than these.' May the Lord give me grace, that, like Nathanael, I may use the proofs of divine goodness and mercy which I have hitherto experienced, as a solid foundation, strengthening, and confirmation of my faith. If henceforth I do not behold the glory of God, then verily unbelief will be the cause of it. At Nazareth, my Saviour did not many mighty works, because of their unbelief. Now, Lord, grant faith, and *that* lively faith!

"But that you may know this from more special circumstances, and adore the name of the Lord with me, I shall mention some particulars. First, I humbly praise God that, during the year I have been here, he, notwithstanding all my imperfections, hath borne with me with great patience and forbearance, hath been daily nigh unto my soul, and hath kindly refreshed me. If I have not had the same enjoyments daily, the fault was on my own side. Now this goodness, long-suffering, and patience of our Lord, I shall account my salvation, according to St. Peter's exhortation.

"As to external things, God has given me life and health, and has made the climate and the heat supportable; so that, though my breathing was sometimes oppressive, yet I have not been induced to complain. Praised be his name also for this gracious help! Whoever always reposes in the good and holy will of God, saves himself much trouble, and makes that supportable which an impa-

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tient and unsubdued self-will renders intolerable. May the Lord subdue this self-will more and more by the power of the cross of Christ!

"Concerning the language of this country, I frequently thought during the voyage.

"Behold, at Halle I learned Tamul three months, and I made but little progress. How much time will be required to learn that language, even though it be only so much as to be able to express myself intelligibly! But God has graciously removed this difficulty, which appeared to me so great; for after we had once preached, it became more and more easy.

"Soon after the commencement of the new year, I began a catechetical hour in the Tamul, or Malabar School, with the youngest lambs; and thus I learned to stammer with them. At the same time, I made almost daily excursions, and spoke with Christians and heathens, though, as may be easily conceived, poorly and falteringly. However, God helped me on from day to day.

"After I had thus practised reading and speaking for nine months, I began the first preparation on the 26th of May, 1751, and finished it on the 2d of July, when I baptized most of the converts. Each of my brethren was occupied with preparing a small number for holy baptism. When, therefore, ten days afterwards, another party came, I began the second preparation on the 12th of July, and ended it in six weeks. With these souls I hope the Lord has not permitted me to labor in vain. How they now conduct themselves, I cannot say, as the far greater part of them were from the country.

"The increase this year is very pleasing, consisting of four hundred in the Tamul congregation, including a hundred and fifty-nine children, partly of Christian, and partly of converted heathen, parents; though the real blessing does not amount to the whole of that number. God send forth faithful laborers, for the harvest is indeed great! Therefore help us, dear sir, to implore the divine assistance.

"This short account I have given you, in humble praise of our gracious God. To him alone belongeth glory, but to us shame; and if we should even suffer ignominy and disgrace for the sake of Jesus, we are unworthy of so great an honor."

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The preparation of candidates for baptism, mentioned in the preceding letter, was frequent at stated periods in every year. Several of the missionaries were occasionally employed with different parties of natives at the same time, which was the case in the year 1751, in the course of which, twenty of these preparatory lectures and instructions took place. In general, the greater proportion of such labors devolved on the junior missionaries, as soon as they were sufficiently conversant with the native language, both for the purpose of rendering them familiar with this important employment, and of affording to the seniors more leisure for correspondence, and other laborious duties of the mission.

The utmost care was taken during these exercises to ascertain, not only the religious knowledge, but the Christian dispositions of the professed converts. Those who were slow of apprehension, or the sincerity of whose views in embracing Christianity appeared doubtful, were deferred to the next preparation. This occurred with respect to two candidates on one of the occasions just mentioned, of whom one was found to be deficient in knowledge, and the other of too worldly a mind to be admitted into the Christian church. The period of probation for baptism was sometimes extended to several months, that the missionaries might have a better opportunity of observing the moral character of the converts, and, with respect to those who came from distant places, of obtaining information as to their previous conduct.*

Agreeably to the practice of that comparatively early period, when there were seven or eight missionaries at Tranquebar, Mr. Swartz, as he informed his friend in the preceding letter, was accustomed to make excursions almost daily among both the Christians and the unconverted natives, generally in company with one of the elder brethren. Four or five missionaries occasionally went out,

* It should, however, be remarked, that the standard of qualification for baptism in the Lutheran church, to which Swartz and his associates belonged, is less elevated than it once was in the Calvinistic churches of Geneva; and probably much less elevated than it now is in the American mission churches which have been planted among the heathen. Yet the reader, as he proceeds, will see abundant reason for adoring the riches of divine grace in the converts, over whom this admirable missionary was permitted to rejoice in India.—*Am. Ed.*

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attended by one or both of the country priests, and each missionary followed by a catechist or an assistant, and some of the schoolboys of the first class. They divided themselves, either singly or in parties of two, among the neighboring towns and villages, conversing with the natives, endeavoring to convince them of their errors, and to persuade them to embrace the religion of the gospel.

In the year 1752, Mr. Swartz conducted three numerous preparations for baptism, and continued his excursions among the neighboring villages. No letters from him during this year are recorded in the missionary journals; and in general it may be observed, that he was averse to any extensive correspondence which might divert him from his studies and labors among the natives. From the moment that he rose in the morning, till he retired to rest, he was unremittingly employed.

In the next year, however, a letter occurs to the Rev. Dr. Struensee, then professor of divinity at Halle, afterwards superintendant-general, that is bishop and metropolitan of the Duchy of Sleswig, and father of the unfortunate Count Struensee, prime minister of Denmark, of which the following is an extract. It is dated Oct. 8, 1753.

"Concerning my poor labors, I usually employ myself in the morning with the school children; and when I am preparing a small party for baptism, that is also done in the forenoon. In the afternoon, Mondays excepted, I commonly go out to the villages, to visit the Christians in their cottages, and to converse with heathens.

"The enclosed annual report will exhibit to you the present external state of the mission. This year Satan, by his raging, endeavored to excite the fears of the Christians, by which many heathens were no doubt deterred from embracing the gospel. For towards the end of April last, a dissension arose between the papists and heathens in Tanjore, on account of some usages. The Rajah having been informed of it, treated the Roman Catholics with great severity; upon which many of them renounced Christianity, both verbally and in writing. Since that time, the Romish Christians in the Tanjore country have been roughly handled; in which sufferings our Christians have also been made to share in several

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places, though not so severely as the papists in Tanjore. May our faithful God arm us with grace, resolution, and strength!

"In July a captain of the Danish navy was sent as an envoy to Tanjore, on which occasion Mr. Wiedebrœck, at the captain's earnest request, accompanied him, and had an opportunity of announcing the gospel of Christ, both in the country and in the residence itself, without hindrance. May God grant a permanent blessing upon it!"

The report alluded to by Mr. Swartz in the preceding letter, was a short account in German, on one quarto sheet printed on the 5th of October in every year at Tranquebar, comprising the number of native Christians belonging to the three congregations constituting the Danish mission, viz. the Portuguese, and the two Tamul for the town and the country, which last, previous to the establishment of the missions of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, was divided into five districts, named after their central places; the district of Mahaburam, that of Tanjore, including the kingdom of Madura, that of Madhewipatnam, comprising the country of Marava, and that of Cumbagonam.*

It may here be proper to observe, that the brethren at Tranquebar, having soon discovered the extraordinary talents of Swartz, gave him the superintendence of all the Christian schools and churches south of the river Caveri.

At this period, whenever the missionaries proceeded on a journey, or returned from one, when they arrived at another missionary station, or departed from it, their first and last employment was to bend their knees in prayer to Almighty God with all their brethren. In this apostolical manner Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz, on the 18th of February 1754, set out on foot on a visit to Cuddalore. Two other missionaries accompanied them a few miles on their way, and united with them in prayer at parting. They

* The increase of each congregation, the missionaries, catechists, and assistants, the number of schools, schoolmasters, mistresses, and children, the printing press and its productions, the country priests and native teachers, with various other particulars, were also inserted in this statement. On the same day the missionaries wrote their annual reports to the king of Denmark, and to each branch of the royal family, which were transmitted directly to those illustrious personages.

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supped and slept at the house of a Hindoo merchant, who civilly received their exhortations to himself and his family.

The persecution of Christians in Tanjore still continuing, these pious men encouraged themselves by reading in Hebrew, according to their general custom of studying the Holy Scriptures in the original languages, the 74th psalm. After their morning devotions, first with each other, and then with their servants and coolies, they proceeded on their journey, and delivered a lecture on the atonement at a place where several Christians were assembled, with a concluding address to the surrounding heathen. On the next day, they represented to the Brahmins and others, in front of a pagoda at Sembankudi, the absurdity and fatal consequences of idolatry, and in the evening reached Tirucottah, where they lodged at the commanding officer's, who was very kind to them, and accommodated them with a boat to carry them down the river and across the Coleroon, and afterwards a catamaran over another river, which saved them from passing through a desert and swampy forest. The boatmen refused to hear anything of Christianity; but stopping for refreshment in a wood, several Hindoos, and Mohammedans, and a Roman Catholic native, came round them, to whom they announced the only true God, and Jesus the only Mediator and Redeemer. A robber, one of whose feet had been struck off by the headman of Chillumbrum, begged a plaister, which the missionaries gave him, with a direction to the only Physician of the soul for the healing of his spiritual wounds.

At the Portonovo river, they were met by Mr. Hutteman, and by Mr. Vaneck, the Dutch superior, who took them to his house. On the 23d, they travelled the whole way to Cuddalore along the sea shore. A merchant of high rank in his caste, but reduced in circumstances, followed them from Porto Novo, and offered to become a Christian; but his views appearing to be interested, he was admonished to be sincere. At noon they addressed some Hindoos at a choultry,* particularly some Byragees,

* Choultries are buildings open on every side, for the accommodation of travellers; the roof is supported by columns, which are sometimes highly ornamented: these are Hindoo structures. The serai is a Mohammedan building for the same purpose; it consists of

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a caste of professed and importunate beggars, and pointed out to some fishermen, how they were entangled in the net of Satan, and by whom they might be rescued. Towards evening, Mr. Kiernander met them near Chetty-Cupam. Having strengthened each other in the Lord at the choultry, they proceeded up the river in a boat, and arrived safely at the mission house at Cuddalore. There they united in prayer to Almighty God, their reconciled Father in Christ, laid their own wants and the general distress, humbly yet confidently before him, and implored a blessing upon themselves, their brethren, and their work. They then visited the sick Portuguese schoolmaster, and conversed with the catechists, and several members of the congregation. A number of Christians having come from the country for the succeeding day's service, Mr. Kohlhoff explained to them the Lord's Prayer, and Mr. Swartz the form of general confession, by way of question and answer. They closed this busy day by visiting the school, and some of the mission servants.

On the 24th, being Quinquagesima Sunday, Mr. Swartz preached in the morning in Tamul, on Luke xviii. 31, on the necessity of Christ's sufferings, and Mr. Kohlhoff in the afternoon in Portuguese, during which service, the morning sermon was repeated in the Tamul school.

The next day they conversed with the native Christians who were returning into the country; and exhorted them to "keep the word of God" which they had heard, and to walk worthy of it. They again visited the sick schoolmaster, and reminded him how necessary it was to be well assured of one's state, in order to be peaceful in death.

It had been usual from the commencement of the mission at Tranquebar, for the missionaries to hold, on Tuesday in every week, a pastoral conference on some passage of Scripture for mutual edification and encouragement. This pious custom, Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz did not omit during their present excursion, but from ten to twelve on the 26th, held what they called a colloquium biblicum with their brethren at Cuddalore, on Acts x. 36, 37; taking occasion, from that animating passage, to exhort each

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a large open area enclosed by high walls, in which are a number of recesses. The serai has no architectural ornaments, except on the gateways.—*Oriental Annual.*

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other to courage and perseverance in the great work of "preaching peace" to the Gentiles by Jesus Christ. In the afternoon, they visited by water two villages of fishermen, situated to the east of Cuddalore, between the river and the sea, and observing that the hours struck at the mission church were distinctly heard on their island, they represented to them the duty of listening to the word of salvation, which the goodness of God had thus brought so near to them.

The next day, the two missionaries, accompanied by their brethren of Cuddalore, proceeded to a small neighboring town, and sitting down in a choultry, conversed with the natives who collected round them, on the acknowledged earthly origin, and base and unworthy character of their pretended divinities, and urged the unprofitable nature of their idolatry, and the peace, purity, and immortal hope resulting from the faith of the gospel. Several succeeding days were thus occupied either in exhortations to the heathen, or to the native Christians, the catechists, the school-children, and their teachers.

Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz having, at the request of their brethren, consented to remain two days longer at Cuddalore, assisted at their Friday weekly conference, the object of which was thus stated by the founder of the mission, Ziegenbalg.

"The weekly conference which we hold every Friday with all the laborers, is of the greatest utility in keeping the mission work in order. For on that day in the forenoon, we pray to God for wisdom and counsel, and each relates how he has been employed, or what has occurred in the congregations and schools, and in the printing and bookbinding offices, and in the private houses. Here every thing which might occasion disorder or detriment is adjusted, and those means are adopted which may best promote the general good. The conference being ended, the Portuguese and Tamul assistants make a report of their labors, and of whatever may be wanting, that as far as possible it may be supplied."

This useful practice was regularly observed during nearly the first century of the mission, when, for some reasons which do not appear, it was discontinued.

After the conference thus referred to, Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz went down the river to a Tirkera, or Moorish

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hermitage, where, amongst others, they addressed a Fakir, or Mohammedan mendicant, to whom the nabob had given the place and the surrounding grounds. He acknowledged that he had three wives and four-and-twenty children, and that he was much addicted to the use of intoxicating drugs. With this man they urged the base and licentious character of Mohammedanism, and the superiority of Christian principles; he admitted the truth of their representations, and promised to visit them at Cuddalore.

On the 5th of March the four missionaries again held a biblical conference on Acts x. 38, in which they encouraged each other humbly and earnestly to implore the communication of the Holy Spirit, that in the power of that divine grace they might, after the example of their heavenly Master, "go about doing good." Swartz concluded with an impressive prayer, that the Lord would vouchsafe to them a permanent blessing from that hour; that according to his promise he would fill them, their brethren, and all their fellow-laborers, with his Spirit, for the sake of the great Mediator and Saviour; that he would preserve them from venturing on any service relying on their own strength, but that they might go forth in his power, that thus laboring, they might never want all necessary light, strength, and blessing.

Early the next day, the four missionaries again united in thanksgiving and prayer; and in the strength of their Redeemer, entered into a covenant to be his, to serve him with all their heart, and thenceforward with renewed energy to preach the gospel to the poor Gentiles around them. "Now," said Swartz, "the Lord has heard what we have spoken before him. May he give us light, life, strength, and prosperity!" The Cuddalore brethren accompanied Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz a few miles, and then separated after a cordial farewell, and wishing them abundant grace and blessing.

On their return to Tranquebar they had frequent opportunities of scattering the good seed of the word of God among Peons in the Dutch service, and Hindoos and Mohammedans from the neighboring towns. Most of these were fishermen, of which class of natives, though there are many Roman Catholics in the south of the peninsula, few have ever been converted by the Protestants. The two missionaries, sometimes in brief, and at others in longer

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addresses, declared the nature of the true God, and the vanity of idols, the misery of sin, the inefficiency of Pagan ceremonies, and particularly of bathing in the sea, to which many whom they met were resorting, and the only effectual atonement of the cross. To those who made inquiries or urged objections, they gave suitable and often satisfactory replies, and received promises of farther attention to their instructions. To some Romish Christians they pointed out the errors of image-worship and of purgatory, and exhorted them to repentance, faith, and true godliness; and finding at one place at which they rested some Protestant converts, they preached to them, inquired as to their domestic devotions, and reproved the negligent.

On the 9th they were met by one of their Tranquebar brethren, and on approaching the mission house, the Tamul school children welcomed them by singing a metrical version of Ecclesiasticus l. 22—24, "Now let us praise the Lord," which is in universal use among Protestants on the continent. The missionaries blessed the children, and shortly afterwards their remaining brethren met them, and united with them and with several officers of the Danish troops at Tranquebar, in the following prayer and thanksgiving, offered up by Mr. Swartz.

"Praised be thy name, O Lord, in profound humility, for all the grace, protection, and blessing which, during the whole of our journey thou hast graciously bestowed upon us of thine undeserved mercy, for the sake of Christ our Mediator! May the seed of thy word, which we thy poor servants have sowed on our journey, spring up and produce abundant fruit, that we, and those who have received the word into their hearts, may praise and adore thy goodness to all eternity! May the union with our brethren at Cuddalore, which has been renewed afresh in thy sacred presence, be productive of abundant blessing! Our supplications, which we have jointly brought before thy footstool, with regard to ourselves and the flock intrusted to us, vouchsafe graciously to hear, and to let us perceive it, for the strengthening of our faith. And thus begin anew to bless us, and to prosper the work of our hands. Yea, prosper thou our handy-work, O Lord, for the sake of Christ, and of his bitter sufferings and death! Amen."

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CHAPTER III.

War in the Carnatic between the French and English—Mr. Swartz continues his usual labors and excursions—Letter to Professor Francke—Expedition of Mr. Poltzenhagen to the Nicobar Islands—His death—Letter of Swartz to a friend in Europe—Visit of Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz to Negapatam—Conversations with the natives—Favorable results of the journey—Second visit to Negapatam—Swartz's address to the native catechists—Capture of Fort St. David and Cuddalore by the French—Kindness of Count Lally to the Missionaries—They retreat to Tranquebar—Mr. Kiernander removes to Calcutta—Mr. Hutteman returns to Cuddalore—Death of one of the first five converts of Ziegenbalg at Tranquebar—The French army approaches Madras—Messrs. Fabricius and Breithaupt protected by Count Lally—They leave Vepery, and retire to Pulicat—An English fleet relieves Madras—The French army retreats, and the missionaries return to Vepery.

Hostilities were now raging in the Carnatic between the French and English, who were contending for the superiority in India, in which several of the native princes were involved. The interior of the country was in consequence much disturbed, particularly by the incursions of the Mahrattas, who supported the French interest. The ravages of these predatory troops spread desolation and alarm wherever they appeared, and the poor native Christians participated in the general distress; but though the operations of the missionaries were occasionally impeded, and eventually those who were stationed at Madras and Cuddalore suffered considerably, Mr. Swartz continued his usual labors and excursions.

On the 8th of July he accompanied Mr. Fabricius, who had been for some time at Tranquebar, a few miles on his

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return to Madras, and on leaving him he directed his course into the interior, to visit several places inhabited by some Christian families. He was attended by the assistant, Martin, and while instructing the native converts, he took the opportunity of allaying the prejudices and fears of some of their unconverted neighbors, as to the education of the Hindoo children by the missionaries, and of convincing them that they could only be desirous of promoting their happiness.

In this year a captain in the Danish navy arrived as governor of Tranquebar, and shortly afterwards gave a pleasing proof of his sincere regard for religion, by redeeming a poor child whom her mother, while a heathen, had sold as a dancing girl to a neighboring pagoda, but who having subsequently embraced Christianity, was anxious to rescue her from that wretched slavery. The Danish governor paid much more than had been given for the child, sent her to the mission school, and defrayed the expenses of her education. She was afterwards baptized, and in process of time married to a respectable native Christian.

On the 10th of October 1755, Swartz wrote to professor Francke as follows.

"Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the God of all true consolation, salvation and life, who mercifully and gloriously helpeth us in all trouble! He is a God that delighteth in our life, a God that humbleth that he may exalt us, that maketh us to feel our wretchedness that he may thoroughly save us from it. My soul, magnify the Lord!

"The distress of the Christian congregation, and the insensibility of the heathen to the word of God, often grievously afflict my soul, which is not yet experienced in the ways of truth. However, I strive as well as I am enabled by the Spirit of Jesus Christ, to cast this burden upon him that is mighty to help, and delights to bow down to us in mercy, that we may not remain and sink in trouble. The words of Christ from Isaiah xlix. 4, often occur to my mind. 'Then I said, I have labored in vain, I have spent my strength for nought and in vain; yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God.' But indeed, the following verse ought to allay

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all grief, and to bind the sorrowful heart to the word of the divine promise. The unwearied patience and mercy of God in working upon my own soul also greatly comforts me, when he saith within me, 'Tell it once more—go, announce it both to Christians and heathens; for thou thyself also wert sometime foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures; and yet in that most corrupt condition deserving wrath and death, a merciful God hath wrought in thee for Christ's sake, and waited for thy conversion, not a few, but many years—now learn thou also to wait patiently in hope. Now, my heart, mind, thoughts, desires, designs, and all my will be altogether offered up to the will of my heavenly Father. Not my will, but thine be done! Yet, let thy kingdom come, in India also, to myself and to others!'

"As to outward circumstances, a gracious God hath paternally preserved me, and amidst bodily weakness mightily supported me. Let my God only give me that which Paul was enabled cheerfully to say, 2 Cor. v. 1, 'We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens!'

"I shall waive a particular account of the circumstances and concerns of the mission, since the most important points are contained in our common letter. I only mention my heartfelt joy on account of the wonderfully kind providence of God, that he blessed us on the 1st of July last with a new fellow-laborer and brother, Mr. Peter Dame, in whom the mind of Christ is so pleasingly conspicuous. As we little expected this, it hath caused us the greater joy. In the Christmas holidays he will, by the divine blessing, deliver a testimony to Christ before the congregation. Now, may a gracious God grant that he may prove abundantly successful."

It is observable, that the reports and joint letters of the 31st of December 1755, and 30th of June 1756, were signed by eight missionaries, the largest number ever residing at one time at Tranquebar.

In September, however, 1756, Mr. Poltzenhagen, at the request of the Danish government, accompanied the new colonists to the Nicobar Islands, both to act as their chaplain, and to promote the civilization and conversion of

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the natives. He collected much information, and began to converse in the language of the Islands, when a short illness terminated his valuable life on the 28th of November following, in the flower of his age. His labors in the Portuguese congregation and school at Tranquebar fell to the share of Mr. Swartz, till Mr. Dame was qualified to undertake them, and in the mean time Swartz continued to officiate in Tamul.

The French, in consequence of the success of some of their military enterprises in this and the two following years, were now indulging the hope of becoming masters of the greater part of India. This encouraged the Roman Catholic priests to reproach and threaten the native Protestant converts, and even stimulated them to some acts of open violence. In addition to this source of uneasiness, a dispute between the Danish government and the rajah of Tanjore, led to an incursion into the Danish territory, in which the poor Christians suffered depredation, and the mission church at Poreiar was considerably injured. These adverse circumstances did not, however, prevent the missionaries from celebrating the 9th of July 1756 as a jubilee, that being the anniversary of the day, on which, fifty years before, the first Protestant preachers landed on the shores of India.

The missionaries mention in their journal of this year, the interesting fact, that three Mohammedans were in the course of this year baptized at Vepery, and formed the first fruits of the conversion to Protestant Christianity, of that class of the natives on the coast of Coromandel.

The Tranquebar journal of 1757, notices a visit of Mr. Kohlhoff to Seringham, at the request of a sick German officer, in the French service. While there, he had several opportunities of addressing the Brahmins within the great pagoda, as well as at Trichinopoly, then garrisoned by the English. He mentions having observed at the latter place the simple method adopted by the natives to convey immense stones to the top of the highest buildings without machinery; namely, by throwing up a sloping mound of earth against the building, and forcing the stone up the inclined plane. From Trichinopoly Mr. Kohlhoff proceeded to Tanjore, where he preached both to European and native Christians, and was invited to a conference with one of the rajah's ministers, to whom he declared the truths of the Gospel.

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Towards the close of this year a letter occurs from Mr. Swartz to a friend in Europe, of which the following is an interesting extract.

"In my ministerial functions, no variation has taken place, except that I have been upwards of nine months in the late Mr. Poltzenhagen's house, and have had the instruction of the Portuguese school and congregation. The Lord lay his blessing on it! This is certain, and I learn it daily, that neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase. He who altogether despairing of himself and his own strength, goes out in all humility with prayer and supplication, seeks that which is lost, and then waits for the former and the latter rain from the Lord, he receiveth blessing of God, and is preserved from much disquietude. And although the blessing is not instantly visible, yet God awakeneth the heart, and enableth us to say, 'At thy word I will let down the net. And when they had this done, they enclosed a great multitude of fishes.'. This text I remember frequently, especially as it is that on which I preached my first sermon' at the University; and by means of which God has produced in me poverty of spirit, and at the same time a filial reliance on his word. May he teach it me more and more, and inculcate it by his Spirit! It was only yesterday, as Mr. Dame and I were observing the obstinacy of the poor pagans, we spoke on this subject, and excited each other to look off from ourselves to God."

Early in 1758, Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz set out on a visit to Negapatam, which is about twenty miles south of Tranquebar. They proceeded by a circuitous route through the country, in order that they might have more frequent opportunities of addressing both Christians and unbelievers. In the evening they repeated to some native Christians at the village where they rested, the sermon which had been preached that morning at the mission church, on the gospel for the day; and very early the next morning they explained to them the Lord's Prayer, addressing at the same time some suitable instruction and admonition to several Roman Catholics and heathens who were present. At their next station they lectured on the Creed; and here it may be observed, that their converts

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being universally taught to repeat the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the words of the institution of both the sacraments—a lecture on any of these subjects peculiarly fixes their attention. At another choultry in which the missionaries found a party of Mohammedans, who readily acknowledged Jesus to be a prophet, they discoursed on his importance as a Mediator, and on the inestimable work of redemption; and drawing a parallel between Christ and Mohammed, they proved the infinite superiority of the former, and urged the duty of an exclusive faith in him.

At three o'clock on the following morning the assistant who accompanied them collected a small party of Christians, whom the missionaries instructed in the scriptural method of salvation, and with whom, as was their constant custom, they prayed. In this manner they pursued their journey.

On the way, seeing a number of natives passing them hastily, and inquiring the cause, they were told that a Brahmin had drowned himself under the pressure of pain; upon which they took occasion to point out the wretched condition of their guides, and exhorted them to seek the grace and peace of God in their hearts, which would enable them patiently to endure calamities. Some of them insinuated that God had predestinated the Brahmin to his miserable end; but the missionaries testified, that God was not the author of evil, but was a lover of our temporal and eternal happiness.

On their arrival at Negapatam, they paid their respects to the Dutch governor, and were hospitably received by one of the gentlemen of that settlement. During the week that they continued there, the missionaries were incessantly engaged in various religious services with the native and European Christians.

They preached in Tamul and Portuguese, and more than once in their own language, to about two hundred Germans of different ranks, who were earnestly desirous of Christian instruction. They visited the Lazaretto, where a number of lepers were supported at the expense of the Dutch East India Company, and gave those unhappy persons a suitable exhortation. On their return they had various conversations with natives, one of whom observed with great simplicity, "We have books wherein

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the solar and lunar eclipses are accurately calculated, and according to those calculations the events happen. Now," said he, "as these prove true, so we believe that other points contained in these books, which concern the divine laws and heavenly things, are true also." The missionaries replied by explaining the difference between physical and religious truths, and pointed out the fallacy of arguing from the results of natural science, to the knowledge which can only be derived from divine revelation. It need scarcely be added, that on many occasions they had to lament the inefficacy of their instructions, but on others they met with willing and attentive hearers; and in general the missionaries observed that their reception was more favorable in places under Dutch authority than elsewhere, the official servants of that government being free from the prejudice commonly entertained against natives professing Christianity, and often even employing them in preference to others.

In the course of their visit to Negapatam, Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz reminded their European friends, that it was their duty to promote the kingdom of Christ; and that the higher the station in which God had placed them, the more responsible they would be, if they neglected to acquit themselves of the obligations incumbent on Christian rulers, to be nursing fathers of the church. The governor assured them of his readiness to favor the advancement of Christianity; and in proof of it, promised that as soon as their chaplain returned, he would begin to build a church for the use of the native Christians—a promise which in less than a year afterwards, was faithfully fulfilled, when a building for this purpose was dedicated in the presence of two of the Tranquebar missionaries.

Not long afterwards, Mr. Swartz made another excursion into the interior of the country, accompanied by one of the native assistants, during which, several Hindoos of high caste listened to him with great attention, and said on parting from him, "You are an universal priest;" intimating, that he was worthy not only of being the religious instructor of Europeans, but of themselves also. While on this short tour, he experienced from many of the natives marked respect and kindness, one of them, in a place where he could purchase nothing, voluntarily

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bringing hot water and milk for his tea, and providing him and his attendants with a supper.

The good effects of his and Mr. Kohlhoff's visit to Negapatam, were soon so apparent in the awakening of a concern for religion in the minds of many of the German Protestants, that at their urgent request, after much deliberation and prayer, Swartz, accompanied by Mr. Klein, another of his brethren, made a second journey to that station in the month of April following. They were met by the two native catechists, and by several European gentlemen, and conducted to Negapatam. There they spent another week, preaching on the most important and impressive subjects, chiefly in German, but two or three times also in Portuguese and Tamul, to the native converts. They administered the sacrament, distributed books and tracts of piety and devotion, and departed, rejoicing at the evident proofs afforded by many of every class, of their cordial reception of the word of God. At the close of their farewell discourses, the Europeans presented the missionaries with a collection for the poor at Tranquebar, amounting to upwards of thirty-two pagodas, great part of which was contributed by the Dutch soldiers.

It had been customary since the year 1741, after the arrival of Messrs. Kohlhoff, Fabricius, and Zegler, when the country catechists and the teachers in and near Tranquebar assembled once a month to read the report of their proceedings, for one of the missionaries to give an exhortation on some text of Scripture, to stir them up to the faithful discharge of their important duties. Lectures in divinity were also given to the most able and intelligent among them, and an admonition to the poor on distributing the monthly alms. On his return from Negapatam, Mr. Swartz addressed the catechists who had brought their reports, from 1 Cor. xv. 10, "By the grace of God I am what I am," from which striking example of the apostle, he represented to them humility as an essential and most important quality in every Christian teacher, leading him to entertain the lowliest thoughts of himself, and at the same time to value and depend on the grace of God in Christ Jesus, above all things.

This was a critical year to the British power in India, and to the missions at Cuddalore and Madras. During

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the night of the 28th of April, the French landed a body of troops near Fort St. David, which, being joined by others from Pondicherry, ravaged and plundered the neighboring towns and villages in a most cruel manner. Many of the Roman Catholic Christians fled to their adjacent church near the governor's garden-house, where they trusted that, as brethren in the faith with the French, they should be safe. Some one, however, among the invading party, having reported that these were the English Protestant missionaries, and that it was their church, the poor Roman Catholics who had taken refuge in it were inhumanly massacred, and the church rased to the foundation. In the mean time, the Protestant missionaries were by the good providence of God, safe within the walls of Cuddalore. It was remarkable, however, that a person at Tranquebar, who was known to be connected with the French, when the news of their attack reached that place, expressed his conviction, that Messrs. Kiernander and Hutteman had been put to death.

On the 1st of May, the French troops approached Cuddalore, and the walls being very low and weak, it was apprehended that at the rising of the moon at midnight, they would storm the town. The alarm of the native inhabitants was in consequence extreme; and they came by hundreds to the missionaries, with their most valuable effects, with which they filled the mission houses. They were, however, spared the horrors of an assault, and early the next morning a French officer brought a summons to the garrison to surrender the place on capitulation. The English commander of the Fort soon afterwards kindly sent a note to the missionaries, advising them to accompany his messenger to the enemy's camp, in order to request the French general to take them under his protection. This advice they thankfully adopted, and followed the flag of truce by a circuitous route through the country, which had been laid waste in every direction by the French cavalry. At length they reached the choultry where the commander-in-chief, the unfortunate Count Lally,* had fixed his head-quarters. He immediately assured them that they had nothing to fear, and that he would afford them every protection. His own

* See Orme's History, vol. ii.; and Mill's British India, vol. iii.

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regiment being nearly all Irish, the officers spoke English, and Colonel Kennedy accompanied the missionaries some distance on their return.

Cuddalore being quite unequal to a defence against so considerable a force, and being entirely open towards the river, the governor of Fort St. David agreed to the proposed capitulation, and the town was in consequence delivered up to the French. The captain of the grenadier company of the regiment Lorraine, which had taken possession of the Porto Novo gate, received orders from his general to send a guard to the missionaries to protect their houses, and they expressed their gratitude by affording refreshments both to the officers and soldiers. They discovered also, that the German captain, Baron Heidemann, whom Mr. Kohlhoff had visited at Seringham, had given orders to his hussars to protect them.*

As soon as the capitulation was signed, the missionaries sent a messenger to their brethren at Tranquebar, informing them of their melancholy situation, and requesting some country boats for transporting the mission property, as it was supposed that all the inhabitants would be required to take an oath of fidelity to the French government, and it was no longer expedient to remain at their present station. The next day the English garrison marched out of Cuddalore, and some French officers took up their quarters at the mission houses. In the course of the day, Count Lally himself visited the missionaries and conversed with them in English, inquiring what countrymen they were, whether Lutherans or Calvinists, wherein their functions consisted, and how far they had succeeded in making converts. He kindly gave them passports, and granted two country boats, which had arrived from Porto Novo with provisions for the French troops, to transport their goods. With much difficulty they contrived, amidst the confusion around them, to get their property on board. The missionaries then assembled their little Christian flock, and kneeling down, commended them to the Lord, praying that he would guide and protect them.

Many Christians and other natives, with their families,

* This pious officer, about two years afterwards, quitted the French service, and retired to the mission at Vepery, where he died in 1761.

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were allowed to accompany the missionaries on leaving Cuddalore. In the evening they arrived at Porto Novo, where they were cordially received by the Dutch resident; and at noon the next day at Devi-Cottah, where the English gave them a most hospitable welcome. On the 8th they reached Tranquebar, where houses were assigned to them by their kind brethren: the native Christians were lodged for the present in the paper mill at Poreiar, and the Cuddalore children were received into the T'amul school. The two missionaries insisting on taking a share in the labors at Tranquebar, Mr. Kiernander assisted in the Portuguese, and Mr. Hutteman in the Malabar congregations.

The early departure of the missionaries and their converts from Cuddalore, appears to have been highly providential; several Jesuits from Pondicherry, with a party of their followers, having arrived the next day, and on finding they had escaped, expressed their disappointment, as well as great displeasure against Count Lally for having granted them a safe dismissal.

Most of the native converts having left Cuddalore, some having retired to Tranquebar, and others to Madras, Mr. Kiernander perceived no immediate prospect of being able to return to his former station, and in consequence felt it to be his duty to engage in some new sphere of labor. After mature reflection and consultation with his brethren, it was resolved that he should endeavor to establish a mission in Bengal. For this purpose he proceeded to Calcutta in September, 1758; and notwithstanding many difficulties and discouragements, he labored there for some years with exemplary piety and diligence, and with considerable success. Mr. Hutteman remained at Tranquebar till September 1760, when he returned and resumed his labors at Cuddalore, which had been retaken by the British army. There, among other instances of the divine blessing upon his ministry, he was the instrument of converting a Pandaram of the highest caste, and of great respectability and learning, in Tanjore. The account of this distinguished convert, written by himself, together with the remonstrance of his brethren of the college of Pandarams of which he had been a member, and his energetic and truly Christian reply, are contained in the reports of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge

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for the year 1765. By one of the biographers of Swartz, this conversion has been erroneously attributed to him, instead of his excellent friend Mr. Hutteman, to whom, under God, this honor is due.

Notwithstanding the disturbed and critical state of the surrounding country, the missionaries at Tranquebar, which, as belonging to a neutral state, had suffered none of the calamities of war, celebrated, as they were accustomed on the 31st of October, the anniversary of the German Reformation, by singing hymns of praise to its divine Author.

On the 21st of November in this year, died at Tranquebar, an aged woman, who was one of the first five converts to Christianity by Ziegenbalg and Plutscho, having been baptized on the 12th of May 1707. She was born and educated a Mohammedan, and was already of adult age when she became a Christian. Her life had been irreproachable, and she had regularly attended the public services of the mission. At her funeral, which was numerously attended, a short address appropriate to the interesting occasion, was delivered in the old mission church.

The French army approached Madras in November, availing itself of the monsoon, during which the English fleet could not remain on that station. The missionaries at Vepery, Messrs. Fabricius and Breithaupt, observed, in consequence, a day of penitence and prayer; humbly deprecating the approaching visitation, and imploring the divine protection in behalf of the English government, and the army, the country, and the mission. It was remarkable and impressive, that even the youngest children in their schools, contrary to their usual custom, joined in the amen at the conclusion of their prayer.

On the 6th of December, the French began to invest Madras, to the disappointment of numbers who had intended to retire, among whom were the missionaries, who had made every preparation for transporting themselves and their property to Pulicat. The French army being unprovided with artillery, no one anticipated so sudden an approach; but the roads both to the south and the north being occupied by the enemy, and the missionaries being unwilling to retreat into the Fort or White Town, with their numerous families, aged persons, women and children, they had no other resource than, in the event of the

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English army retiring into the city, to endeavor to obtain the protection of the French general, Count Lally, as Mr. Fabricius had done in the year 1746, on the capture of Madras by M. Labourdonnais. They felt, however, that it would not become them to seek such protection from the French general before he had rendered himself master of the country. On the 12th the French army advanced, and after firing a few rounds the English retreated into the fort. Scarcely had this movement taken place, when the Mohammedan irregular cavalry of the French army galloped over the plains; and listening to no representations of the missionaries, forced their way into their houses, and robbed and plundered them of every thing. At length they approached the church, in which great numbers of men, women, and children, had taken refuge. Here they compelled the native men to give up their clothes and turbans, and the women their necklaces and earrings. "Our gracious God, however," observe the missionaries, "without whose permission not a hair falls from our heads, mercifully preserved his servants, so that their persons were not touched, and, with the exception of being plundered, no one sustained the slightest injury." The native Christians fled across the river into Madras, to which Mr. Breithaupt and his family also escaped, while Mr. Fabricius, escorted by a friendly Roman Catholic trooper whom he met among the plunderers, proceeded to the French camp.

It was late in the evening before Mr. Fabricius could obtain from Count Lally the desired protection. The French officers expressed their regret that he had not sooner applied for it, adding, that on such occasions, it was not in their power to restrain the excesses of the Mohammedan troops. The missionaries, however, humbly resigning themselves to the will of God, felt comparatively little for their own losses, but deeply lamented that the property of many persons, particularly that of some widows and orphans, which had been intrusted to their care, should have been thus plundered—a circumstance which led them afterwards to be cautious in becoming such depositories, except in behalf of each other.

As soon as Mr. Fabricius had obtained a soldier to protect him, he returned to Vepery, where he found every thing in the utmost confusion; most of the mission furni-

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ture, their provisions, books, clothes, and utensils, had disappeared. Their manuscripts and correspondence, though scattered in every direction, were happily preserved; and some of their more useful books were afterwards discovered. Some benevolent friends at Fort St. George kindly sent Messrs. Fabricius and Breithaupt a present of money, linen, and clothing; and thus the providence of God watched over them and supplied their wants.

Very early on the 14th of December, the French army defiled past the mission-house towards the northern suburb of Madras, compelling two youths of the Christian congregation to accompany them as guides. A strong detachment from the fort here attacked the French, but the English were repulsed with considerable loss. The French plundered the Black Town, and commenced the siege of Fort St. George. To avoid the difficulties and dangers attending such a scene, the missionaries, about Christmas, together with many of their converts, left Madras, and proceeded to Pulicat, where they were hospitably received by the Dutch authorities. In the mean time, Count Lally urged the siege of Madras with the feeble means which he possessed, and about the middle of February 1759, a breach having been made in the walls, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Governor Pigot and the English commander, the veteran Major Lawrence, preparations were making for the assault; when, on the 16th, the very day which had been fixed for the purpose, an English fleet unexpectedly arrived off Madras, and in two hours the French officer commanding in the trenches received orders to abandon the siege. The next day the French army retreated from Madras, and in the course of a few weeks, the missionaries returned to their peaceful and beneficent labors. The victory of Colonel Coote at Wandewas, and the subsequent capture of Pondicherry, defeated the last hopes of the French in that quarter, and established the British ascendancy in the Carnatic.

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CHAPTER IV.

Tranquillity of the Danish missionaries during the late hostilities in the Carnatic—Visit of Mr. Swartz to Ceylon—His various ministerial labors and his illness in that island—His reflections on this visit—Journey with Mr. Kohlhoff to Cuddalore and Madras—His religious views and feelings in a letter to a friend.

WHILE the operations of the missionaries at Cuddalore and Madras had been thus painfully interrupted and suspended by the hostilities between the French and English, Mr. Swartz and his colleagues at Tranquebar were pursuing their accustomed labors in comparative tranquillity, and affording, as we have seen, hospitality and comfort to many of their Christian brethren, both native and European.

From an early period of the Danish mission, some correspondence had been carried on with the Dutch ministers in Ceylon, whom the missionaries at Tranquebar had occasionally supplied with copies of the holy Scriptures in Tamul, that language being spoken in the north of the island. Early in the year 1760, some Christians at Colombo and Jaffnapatnam having expressed an earnest desire for a visit from some of the Danish missionaries, for the purpose of spiritual instruction and edification, Mr. Swartz determined to comply with their request, and on the 25th of April proceeded on his journey accompanied by two of his brethren.

On landing on the island of Ceylon, Mr. Swartz was kindly received by the Dutch resident; and on the 30th of April he arrived at Jaffnapatnam,* where Captain de

* It is in the district of Jaffna, of which Jaffnapatnam is the chief town, that the American mission is situated.—*Am. Ed.*

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Dohren invited him to be his guest. The two Dutch ministers, then residing there, were native Tamuls. After addressing the company's interpreter in the presence of many who were assembled, on the characteristics of a true Christian, he explained in the evening to the two Dutch ministers, in their native language, the great design of missions, the duties of missionaries, their behavior towards the heathen, and the best method of conducting schools. On the 2d of May, Swartz preached to a Christian congregation from Luke xix. 10—"The Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost." And on the 10th, from John xvi. 5, on the Holy Spirit, and the grounds on which we may now hope to become partakers of that inestimable gift. On the 5th, he visited the hospital with the physician, and addressed both the sick and those in health, from the words of St. John i. 29, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." The next day he set out for Colombo to request permission of the governor to administer the holy sacrament at Jaffnapatnam. This tedious journey occupied twelve days, and he arrived at Colombo on the 18th, just as divine service was commencing. In the afternoon he was introduced to the Governor Schreuder, who inquired into the design of his visit, and then very kindly giving him his advice how best to proceed, opened a field of usefulness far more extensive than he had anticipated. The day following he devoted to a visit to the Dutch clergymen, conversing with them on the state of the mission, and the exertions of the Dutch, in behalf of the heathen, in the island of Ceylon. On the 20th he dined with the governor, to whom he related the most important occurrences at the several missionary stations, and the active operations which were in progress, both among Christians and heathen. From the 21st to the 26th he was engaged in preparing those who intended to receive the holy sacrament; but about this time he appears to have been interrupted in the midst of his pious labors by an illness which continued during a whole month, the beneficial effect of which, upon his own mind, he afterwards thankfully acknowledges.

On recovering from this indisposition, on the 17th of July, the anniversary of his arrival in India, ten years before, Swartz preached a sermon preparatory to the holy

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communion, on Matthew iii. 2, in which he dwelt much on the nature of the motives to true repentance. The next day, after a discourse on 1 Cor. xi. 28, in which he expatiated on the happy effects of worthily approaching the table of the Lord, the bread and cup of blessing were received by four hundred persons, many of whom afterwards acknowledged the powerful impression produced on their minds by their participation in that sacred ordinance.

On the following day Mr. Swartz received an invitation to preach the word of God to the Christians at Point de Galle, to which place he proceeded on the 22d, and arrived on the 24th. Several members of the congregations met him on the road with tears of joy. On the 26th he commenced preparatory instructions for the holy sacrament, which he continued till the 30th, when he preached on Luke xv., explaining the nature of true conversion; and on the next day one hundred and twenty-six persons were admitted to the holy communion, after he had exhorted them, in many private conversations, to choose that narrow way which leadeth unto life eternal.

On the 1st of August he left Point de Galle for Colombo, where he again arrived on the 4th, after having administered the sacrament at Caltura. The road to the latter place, planted on both sides with cocoa trees, he described as particularly pleasant. Having now spent more than three months in Ceylon, Swartz commenced his return to Tranquebar. He embarked on board a Moorish vessel, much enjoying the fine view of Colombo from the sea, and commending its inhabitants to the divine mercy. Towards evening, having lost sight of land, the Mohammedan seamen requested him to relate to them the history of Christ, with which he gladly complied, calling their attention to the difference between the Christian and Mohammedan religion. They would not admit that Mohammed was a false prophet, but behaved with great mildness and modesty.

On the 29th of August he arrived at Jaffnapatnam, and after preaching from Matt. xxvi. 26, he administered the holy sacrament to thirty-nine persons. In the afternoon he addressed the sick at the hospital, on Luke xv. 2, "This man receiveth sinners." He visited the hospital again on the following day, and preached in the morning from

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1 Cor. xi. 23, when eleven persons received the holy communion. In the afternoon he selected for his text the words of the Psalmist, "Teach me to do thy will." Ps. cxliii. 10,—exhorting his hearers to make this one of their chief prayers to God.

On the 5th of September, prior to his departure, Mr. Swartz went to Point Pedro for the purpose of seeing the large tree, under which the celebrated Baldæus, who accompanied the Dutch expedition which took possession of Ceylon, in the seventeenth century, addressed his first discourse to the natives. Swartz conversed with some Malabar people whom he met on the spot, and preached the Gospel to them. On his return, he embarked on board his vessel, impressed with gratitude to God for the help which he had experienced in visiting and addressing so many different congregations; and after a short and pleasant voyage, he arrived on the 9th of Sept., in the port of Negapatam, and concluded his journal of his visit to Ceylon in the following modest terms. "With a humble heart I bless the name of the Lord for the grace, help, and protection, he has vouchsafed to me. May he pardon, for Christ's sake, all my sins of omission and commission; and may a lasting blessing rest on all I have done and spoken in my infirmity, agreeably to his word! Amen."

In a letter to his excellent friend Dr. Francke, dated Oct. 16th, 1760, Swartz thus refers to his late voyage to Ceylon:

"I was much troubled, and even somewhat impeded in the discharge of my duty, by a dry cough in January and February last, which always greatly increased whenever I attempted to remain for any length of time in the open air, during the prevalence of northerly winds; on which account an opportunity of undertaking a voyage to Ceylon was particularly welcome to me. When I reflect how God has condescended to humble and purify me by means of an illness with which I was visited at Colombo, I am constrained to praise him in silence. 'All the paths of the Lord are mercy and truth,' even when it would seem as if he had visited us in anger, and contrary to the assurance which his word contains. I have reason to think that the seed of the word sown at Colombo, has been productive, in some instances, of real and lasting good. The

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commanding officer at Galle, a member of the Reformed Church, appeared much affected, and said to the Lutherans: 'I suppose you would be glad to receive a similar visit once a year.' And on my taking leave, he thanked me most feelingly for the edification he had received, and begged me to come again. The word of God being so scarce in that island, I assure you that the divine service was conducted in a very solemn and edifying manner. Indeed my inmost soul was moved by it."

Early in 1761 some circumstances, communicated to Mr. Swartz by Mr. Hutteman, induced him, in conjunction with his friend Mr. Kohlhoff, to undertake a journey northwards to Cuddalore and Madras.

Near a river the two travellers met with a Mohammedan chief, and some of his people entered into conversation with them. Mr. Swartz observed, that all men were strangers and pilgrims on the earth, who should desire a better, even a heavenly country, which it was impossible to reach by any works or merits of their own, but only by faith in Jesus Christ. They listened with great attention, and as often as the name of Jesus was mentioned the chief added that of Messiah. On parting, he requested the friendship of the missionaries, and wished them prosperity.

On the 30th of January, Mr. Swartz and his companion arrived at the mission-house in Cuddalore, admiring the goodness of God, by which the town was preserved during the tumults of the late war. Having stayed a day or two and preached there, they pursued their journey; and near Pondicherry a native Roman Catholic, with his wife, joined them, to whom they pointed out the happiness to be derived from the pure Gospel of Christ. At Pondicherry they were kindly received by a French inhabitant, who related to them the great distress they had suffered during the late siege of that place. To a young Brahmin whom they met near Mareikanam, carrying a bench on which the idol Ramen is usually placed, and who accompanied them as far as the river Kartiel, Swartz related the history of the creation, and fall of man, and the redemption by Jesus Christ, and testified against the deplorable practice of idol worship.

On the evening of the 6th they reached Sadras, where

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they were received in a very friendly manner by the Dutch commander of the Fort, and distributed some German tracts among the soldiers; and on the 8th they arrived at Vepery, from which their brethren had been compelled to retreat two years before. They visited the various institutions at this station, conversed with some Mohammedans, and exhorted the native Tamul Christians to walk worthy of the Gospel. On the 10th a conference of the missionary brethren was held, at which the native assistants were present. On the 15th Mr. Swartz preached in Tamul, from Luke xxii. 39—46. He was detained at Vepery till the 10th of March, by a contusion which he had received at Sadras, and which had brought on inflammation; but on the 18th he returned safely to Tranquebar, where he continued during the remainder of the year, actively engaged in the ordinary labors of the mission.

At the commencement of the year 1762, we find him in a letter from Tranquebar to a friend at Halle, giving the following pious and interesting sketch of his religious views and feelings.

"With respect to my present circumstances, I feel constrained to bless God for the manifold mercies showered down in the past year upon me, the least of his servants, through Christ's atonement and intercession. He has supported me day by day in the most gracious manner; he has instructed and reproved me by his Spirit; he has never left me without consolation—therefore my soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour. Indeed I have the greatest cause for gratitude; for the Lord has regarded the low estate of his servant. My joy is not extravagant, but calm and abiding, and my great aim is to know that I am the Lord's, through Christ, that I have found grace in his sight, that his peace rests upon me, that I can confidently approach him in prayer, and have a certain hope of eternal life; so that even days of sickness cannot deprive me of these consolations.

"Many of the Roman Catholics in this place acknowledge the superior advantages which the pure Gospel has over the confused doctrines and traditions of men; which, instead of relieving, only oppress the conscience. When I visit them in their houses they listen to me gladly, and I affectionately invite them to convince themselves of the

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full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, made by Christ for the sins of the whole world, as the foundation of their faith; and that believing this, they may enjoy peace of conscience, and become partakers of the precious blessings obtained for them by his sufferings and death upon the cross. I point out to them what Jesus Christ himself has taught respecting the way which leadeth unto life, and how much the Romish Church has deviated from the pure doctrine of the Gospel. Father, let thy kingdom come! O send forth faithful laborers into thy harvest!"

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CHAPTER V.

Enlarged sphere of Swartz's labors—Journey to Tanjore and Trichinopoly—First proceedings in those cities—Introduction to the Nabob of Arcot—Conversations with natives near Trichinopoly—Commencement of Divine Service with the English garrison—Contagious fever—Services of Swartz during the siege of Madura—His removal from Tranquebar, and establishment at Trichinopoly, as a Missionary of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

VARIOUS and important as the services of Swartz had already been, it must be evident that he possessed talents and acquirements which qualified him for a sphere of more extensive usefulness than the narrow limits of the Danish territory and its immediate neighborhood afforded. An opportunity for thus enlarging the scene of his labors shortly afterwards occurred.

In the month of May, 1762, accompanied by another missionary, he went on foot to Tanjore and Trichinopoly, preaching both to Christians and heathens. At Tanjore he was permitted to explain the doctrines of the Gospel, not only in the city, but even in the rajah's palace, where he took occasion, from questions which the officers of the court asked him concerning worldly affairs, to turn the conversation to religious subjects. The rajah was present, and heard him, but was not visible.

At Trichinopoly, where he remained till July, he was treated with great kindness by the English; and with the assistance of Major Preston and Mr. Newton,* a room was built for the purpose of divine worship, and as a school

* Brother to the learned Bishop Newton.

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for children. In September, on his return from Tanjore, he baptized several Hindoo converts, and received some Roman Catholics into the congregation, after having previously instructed them in the Protestant faith.

Though Tranquebar continued for some time to be nominally the place of his residence, Trichinopoly and Tanjore began, from this period, to be the chief objects of his attention, as they were ultimately the principal sphere of his missionary labors. The former of these two cities contained, at this period, from twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants, several handsome mosques, and a palace and gardens of the nabob, and is celebrated for its stupendous rock of granite, rising within the fort to the height of four hundred and fifty feet, and commanding, from that eminence, an extensive view of the surrounding country. In one direction, the island of Seringham, encircled by the diverging branches of the fertilizing Cavery, and conspicuous from its gigantic pyramids and vast and venerated pagoda, forms a rich and magnificent object; while the whole scene is scarcely less memorable as the principal seat of the struggle between the French and English, which has been already adverted to, for the empire of India, and the signal triumphs of British talents and valor. Such was the spot which was about to be rendered doubly interesting by the Christian labors of Swartz.

"On my return to Trichinopoly," he observes in his journal, "early in the year 1763, I found that the powder magazine had blown up. Among other Europeans who lost their lives on this occasion, were three very pious men, by whose society and conversation I had often been refreshed." With reference to this calamitous event he addressed a small congregation of Germans from the admonition of our Lord on the fall of the tower in Siloam, Luke xiii. 4, the number of those who perished having been in each case the same. "This event," he adds, "produced a beneficial change in the sentiments and conduct of many of the inhabitants." Mr. Swartz made a collection in behalf of the children of those who had suffered by this melancholy catastrophe, which amounted to three hundred and thirty pagodas. This sum he applied to the establishment of an English orphan school, and the necessary books were obtained from Madras and Calcutta.

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In the same journal he mentions, that after preaching from Gal. iii. 23, on the different effects produced by the dispensation of the law and that of the Gospel, he administered the sacrament to thirteen individuals, among whom was a family which some months before had attached itself to his congregation from the Roman Catholic church, the members of which, as they increased in the knowledge of divine truth, exerted themselves in communicating it to others of their acquaintance. During the following month he was engaged in preparing several native converts for baptism, in teaching the children of Europeans to read, and instructing them in the Christian religion. He visited the sick in the hospital, and devoted his evenings to friendly conversation with heathens and Roman Catholics, who frequently collected round him in great numbers, listening with pleasure to his instructions.

While he was one day reading an English tract, on the fifteenth chapter of St. Luke, under a shady tree, an old Hindoo, who had often entreated him not to trouble him with his Christian tenets, approached him, in company with several others, and begged to know what he was reading. Mr. Swartz told him that it was a narrative of the truly paternal conduct of God towards us, and of our refusal to render due obedience to his kind and gentle government; thus abusing his mercies, and bringing upon ourselves distress and misery. Notwithstanding this, there was, he said, a way opened by which we might return to our justly offended Maker, and become partakers of his grace and benediction. The old man being pleased with this parable, Swartz proceeded to relate to him that of the sower, telling him why the seed did not every where bring forth good fruit. He comprehended this also perfectly, and asked whether God is not omnipresent. "Yes," he replied; "he sees every thing that passes on earth, whether it be good or evil; but his omnipresence is formidable to the wicked." The Hindoo said, "In my heart, inwardly, I worship God." "If that is the case," rejoined Mr. Swartz, "your outward conduct must prove the reverence which you profess to entertain in your heart towards the Almighty. What would you think of a man, who reproached and even struck you, while he pretended that he had cordial love for you in his heart?" The Hindoo confessed that he could not value such love. "Neither," he

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concluded "can God accept the homage which you profess to feel inwardly for him, while in your words and conduct you deny and dishonor him."

It was during this visit to Trichinopoly, that Mr. Swartz became known to Mohammed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic. He was walking in his highness's garden, when the Mohammedan prince himself happened to enter it, and sitting down near a piece of water, he desired him to approach, and offered him some refreshment, which, however, he declined. A few days afterwards, on seeing him again, the nabob accosted and conversed with him in a very friendly manner. His chief minister always behaved with much kindness to the missionary, and often said, "You have no regard for me; for you seldom come to my house." Mr. Swartz had much conversation with this Mohammedan; but when he found himself closely pressed, and appeared much affected, he always broke off the visit abruptly.

On the 4th of May, in this year, Mr. Swartz went to Caroor, twelve miles west from Trichinopoly, for the purpose of instructing some Hindoos of high rank in the Christian religion. "They listened," he observes, "with great attention to all that I told them of the supreme excellence of the true God, and of the redemption of mankind from their fallen state, by his Son Jesus Christ. The next day I assembled a number of the natives under a tree and explained to them the Christian doctrine. They felt how vain and irrational it was to worship their numerous deities, and fully approved the doctrine of one God, the Creator of heaven and earth. I also visited a Brahmin, who was considered the richest inhabitant of the place, who allowed me, without interruption, to expose the folly of idolatry, and then said, 'I also worship God.' We were interrupted by the arrival of a Hindoo who fell on his face before him. The Brahmin took some ashes, which he spread over the poor man. I told him how wrong he acted in accepting honors which were due to God alone. Enraged at this reproof, he exclaimed, 'Prove that there is only one God.' This I did by directing his attention to the great works of creation. He dismissed me by saying, 'In the same way that we bow before the body of a man, and yet mean to pay respect to his soul, we bow before images, and intend to worship God'—a

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plausible excuse which has been urged in favor of idolatry in all ages, but which is at once derogatory from the majesty of the Supreme Being, and destructive of all true and acceptable worship.

" Among the Europeans at this place, there were some," says Mr. Swartz, " who were very desirous of instruction; I therefore solicited the commanding officer to allow prayers and a sermon to be read to the soldiers every Sunday. To this he willingly consented, requesting me to make a beginning. I gladly complied, and he publicly repeated his promise, that he would have divine service regularly performed." He was evidently an admirer of fine natural scenery, and observes of that part of the country, and particularly near the river, that it was rich and beautiful, every where well watered, even as the garden of the Lord. The neighboring hills afforded a delightful prospect, and most of their summits were surmounted by a pagoda.

On his return to Trichinopoly on the 15th, he met a Roman Catholic monk clothed in a yellow habit, similar to those worn by the Pagan priests, attended by a man who carried his golden fan, as well as by a drummer and fifer. He had a long conversation with him on the doctrines of Christianity, to which the Roman Catholic assented, but paid no further regard to his observations.

In the course of this month an infectious fever carried off many people, but Swartz was mercifully preserved. The Hindoos employed idolatrous incantations for the cure of the sick; but he earnestly admonished them to apply for help to that omnipotent Being, who is alone able to deliver, and who designed, he said, by such dispensations, to draw them to himself.

The only notice which occurs of his proceedings during the interval which elapsed from this period to the time of his removal from Tranquebar, is in the Report of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge for the year 1766. In an extract from a letter of Mr. Hutteman it is stated, that Mr. Swartz " had been of infinite service to the English army during the bloody siege of Madura." The event thus referred to, was occasioned by the attempt of the unfortunate Mohammed Issoof to establish his independence in that district.* He had been in the Company's

* Mill's India, vol. iii. p. 344.

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service as commandant of the English Sepoys at Trichinopoly, and had been vigorously employed, from the relief of Madras to the fall of Pondicherry, in reducing the refractory Polygars, and other local chiefs in the south of the peninsula. Having proposed to become responsible for the revenue of that part of the country, which, not being as yet in a state of tranquillity and order, was in reality unproductive, and failing in the payment of the stipulated sum, the nabob of the Carnatic and the Madras government proceeded to enforce their claims; and for this purpose, in the month of August 1763, a combined army of natives and British troops marched to Madura. Mohammed Issoof endeavored by negotiation, and by the influence of his friends among the English, to ward off the blow; but finding these efforts unavailing, he resolved on hazarding a struggle in his own defence. Brave and enterprising as he was, his subjugation was by no means easy. He successfully resisted several assaults on the fort, in one of which Major Preston, the commander of the English troops, whom Mohammed had intimately known, and who had assisted Swartz on his first visit to Trichinopoly,* unhappily fell in the breach. After honorably restoring the dead body of his former military friend to the British camp, and baffling all the efforts of the besieging army till the month of October 1764, Mohammed Issoof was betrayed by one of his own people into the hands of his enemies, and Madura surrendered to the combined forces.†

It was during this destructive siege that Swartz is reported to have been signally useful to the English army. The precise nature of his services is not stated; but judging from his subsequent conduct, it is probable that they were not confined to his pious attendance on the sick and wounded, but extended to some substantial benefits, which his growing influence among the natives might have enabled him to render in facilitating the supplies of the army in a desolated country during a long and protracted contest.

It was in the year 1766, that the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, anxious to extend their influence in

* See p. 87.

† An American Mission was commenced at Madura in the summer of 1834, by missionaries detached for that purpose from the Ceylon Mission.—*Am. Ed.*

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India, resolved, in consequence of representations from Tranquebar, on establishing a mission at Trichinopoly. The frequent visits of Swartz to that city, and the favorable manner in which his labors had been received, encouraged the proposal of a settlement there, and, independently of his eminent qualifications for usefulness, evidently pointed him out as the most eligible person to be placed in that important station. Deeply as his brethren at Tranquebar regretted the removal of so able and excellent a colleague, they readily acquiesced in this arrangement, which was also sanctioned by the approbation of the Royal Mission College at Copenhagen. He accordingly quitted Tranquebar, and fixed his residence at Trichinopoly. Towards the close of the same year, the Rev. Christian William Gericke, who had been recommended to the Society by professor Francke, and who afterwards proved so faithful and zealous a fellow-laborer, arrived in India as an associate with Mr. Hutteman at Cuddalore.

An early communication from Swartz to the venerable Society with which he was connected, acknowledges "the goodness of God to the poor Hindoos in directing their hearts to establish a mission at Trichinopoly," and expresses "his particular obligations to them for choosing him as their missionary; the duty of which office he humbly hoped God would enable him to perform, to the honor of his holy name." How fully and delightfully this pious hope was realized, will appear in the sequel of these Memoirs.

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CHAPTER VI.

Sketch of Swartz and his early proceedings at Trichinopoly, by the late W. Chambers, Esq.—He builds a church at that place—Mission-house and schools at Trichinopoly—War between Hyder Ali and the great powers of Southern India—Swartz visits his brethren at Tranquebar—Incidents on his journey—His visits to the sick and wounded at Trichinopoly—Conversations—Letters to friends in Europe—State of Tanjore at that period—The hope of Swartz as to the diffusion of Christianity—Conclusion of his journal for the year 1768.

Of the settlement and early labors of Swartz at Trichinopoly, as well as of his talents, disposition, and character, a most interesting and authentic account is contained in the following extracts from a letter to a friend by the late William Chambers, Esq., brother of Sir Robert Chambers, formerly chief justice of Bengal. Mr. Chambers was not in the service of the East India Company, but engaged in commercial pursuits, first at Madras, and afterwards in Bengal, and was eminently distinguished by his talents and acquirements, particularly as an Oriental scholar, as well as for the superior excellence of his moral and religious character. He was for some years a corresponding member of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and took a lively interest in the propagation of Christianity in India, of which his translation of the greater part of the Gospel of St. Matthew into Persian, and the share which he took in the establishment of the mission church at Calcutta, were valuable and important proofs.

The letter from which the following extracts are given, appears to have been written towards the close of Mr. Chambers' life, and to have been intended to comprise a more extensive account of Mr. Swartz's character and

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labors. It is, unhappily, only a fragment, and was probably interrupted by the premature death, which deprived his family and the extensive circle in which he moved, of this distinguished and excellent person. Short, however, as it is, it will be found highly valuable and interesting, particularly as containing a most graphic description of the person, habits, and manners of Swartz, by one who enjoyed during many years the high privilege of his intimate friendship, and who was well qualified to appreciate the peculiar excellencies of his character. Mr. Chambers' letter, which is in his own hand-writing, without any mention of place or date, and evidently rough and unfinished, commences as follows;—

"As you wish me to give you some account of Mr. Swartz and his evangelical labors on the coast of Coromandel, I sit down to satisfy you, though with a deep conviction of my own unfitness to do justice to such a subject.

"In the year 1767 I made a journey from Madras to Trichinopoly, where Mr. Swartz then resided, which first introduced me to his acquaintance. I undertook that journey for the purpose of attaining the Malabar (Tamul) and Persian tongues; and as he was a master of the former, and was studying the latter of these languages, I was naturally desirous to contract an intimacy with him during my stay there, which lasted about two years. In that period, however, it must be confessed I had more opportunities of viewing the evidence of his character than the detail of his work; for being myself engrossed at one time by a long series of ill health, and at others by a course of arduous study, it is not to be supposed that I could have such views of his success as a clerical character might have had who had accompanied him in his labors and excursions. I must also add, that as the study of the Malabar tongue was to me a subordinate pursuit, my proficiency in that language was not, during my stay at Trichinopoly, such as might enable me to converse largely with those people, so as to judge of their sincerity in the faith which they professed.

"Having premised thus much to show the disadvantages under which I write, I proceed to state to you all that my memory presents to me, of what I then learnt and was

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witness to, and this I shall endeavor to do with plainness and simplicity.

"I had often heard mention of Mr. Swartz before I went thither, as a man of great zeal and piety, and of considerable attainments in the languages of the country; but as these accounts were in general given me by those who viewed the excellence of a religious character through the medium of popular prejudice, my ideas of him were very imperfect; and as I myself had then scarcely any better rule of judging, a preconceived notion of great strictness and austerity had mixed itself with every thing I had heard in his praise. The first sight of him, however, made a complete revolution in my mind as to this point. His garb, indeed, which was pretty well worn, seemed foreign and old-fashioned; but in every other respect his appearance was the reverse of all that could be called forbidding or morose. Figure to yourself a stout well-made man, somewhat above the middle size, erect in his carriage and address, with a complexion rather dark, though healthy, black curled hair, and a manly engaging countenance expressive of unaffected candor, ingenuousness, and benevolence; and you will have an idea of what Mr. Swartz appeared to be at first sight. During the intimacy which I had afterwards the happiness to contract with him, I learnt the following particulars of his past history."

Here Mr. Chambers briefly details the account which has been already more fully given of the birth and education of Swartz, of his employment as a tutor in the orphan house at Halle, and of his proposal to become a missionary; of the interesting deliberation of his father upon this important subject, his consent to the plan, and the departure of his son to England for the purpose of embarking for the East Indies. Mr. Chambers then proceeds as follows.

"His first residence in India was at the Danish mission at Tranquebar, where he was initiated into the Tamul (improperly called the Malabar) language, which is the vernacular tongue of almost all the countries that are governed by the nabob of Arcot. As this is the language of an ancient, wealthy, and sagacious people, who have cultivated their own learning assiduously, and have abounded in the arts of life from a remote antiquity, it is of

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course of great extent, and its pronunciation is at the same time exceedingly difficult to Europeans. Mr. Swartz deeming it necessary, in order to converse with advantage with these people, to be well acquainted with their system of theology, whatever it was, spent *five years*, after he had attained some proficiency in their language, in reading their mythological books only. Hard and irksome as this task must have been to a devout mind, he has reaped this benefit from it, that he can at any time command the attention of the Malabars by allusions to their favorite books and histories, which he never fails to make subservient to the truth. He also learnt at Tranquebar the Portuguese tongue, particularly that dialect of it which is used by the Portuguese who are natives of India. The missionaries have found great numbers of these, in every place at which they have settled, ready to embrace the Protestant faith, or who having already embraced it, or been brought up in it as servants to Protestant masters, were in need of instruction and of pastors. Willing, therefore, to seek souls wherever they were to be found, they have all voluntarily added the study of Portuguese to that of Malabar, and preach and instruct in that language also.

"Mr. Swartz, however, while engaged in these pursuits at Tranquebar, found his province there somewhat confined, and therefore sought and obtained permission to go and establish an English mission at Trichinopoly, where the Gospel had not hitherto been preached, at least not for a continuance. He was there happy in a correspondence and frequent intercourse with another young missionary named Dame, who was settled at Tanjore, and was as fervent and zealous as himself. The same spirit and the same pursuit soon drew them into the strictest bond of Christian friendship—the sublimest of all earthly affections. Their prayers, their labors, and their souls, were united in the same glorious and never-dying cause, for which they had both resigned all temporal prospects. But Mr. Swartz did not long enjoy this source of comfort; for being called once suddenly to see his friend, he hastened to Tanjore, and found him dead.

"At Trichinopoly he had much to do with very narrow means. His whole income was *ten pagodas per month*, or about 48*l.* per annum; and he had no other fund for

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making a new establishment. I must here, however, observe, that though, computing at the usual rate of exchange, one hundred and twenty pagodas must be allowed to be equivalent to 48*l.*, yet if we estimate it according to the effective value of money in India and in England, it will not be equal to half that sum. I mean, that a European may live much better in England on 24*l.* per annum than he could in India for one hundred and twenty pagodas. Let us see, then, how he managed with this income. He obtained of the commanding officer, who perhaps, was ordered to furnish him with quarters, a room in an old Gentoo building which was just large enough to hold his bed and himself, and in which few men could stand upright. With this apartment he was contented. A dish of rice and vegetables dressed after the manner of the natives was what he could always sit cheerfully down to; and a piece of dimity dyed black, and other materials of the same homely sort, sufficed him for an annual supply of clothing. Thus easily provided as to temporalities, his only care was to 'do the work of an evangelist.' He preached to the natives incessantly, both in the town and in the villages around, and was not long without a congregation of converted Hindoos; and among them three or four who were capable of instructing others, whom he therefore entertained as catechists and contrived to maintain out of his little income.

"But these were not his only labors at Trichinopoly. He found there a large English garrison without a chaplain; to these, also, he sought to be of service by every means in his power. The kindness of his heart and the unaffected simplicity of his manners soon procured him a civil reception among them, and he improved this into an opportunity of gaining a knowledge of the English language, with which he was unacquainted at his first coming. After he had made, however, but a small proficiency in English, he undertook to read the service to the garrison on Sundays, and he at the same time read them sermons from those of our English divines in whose writings he discovered an evangelical spirit. But since he has attained a more perfect acquaintance with our language, he has proceeded to preach extempore, which I am told he still continues, and is enabled to command the utmost attention in his auditory.

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"It is, indeed, astonishing, if we consider the manners of our troops in India, how he has been able to persuade whole garrisons. At first he prevailed upon them to meet in a large apartment in an old Gentoo building; but in time the garrison resolved to subscribe to erect themselves a church; and the money which would have been thought by contractors a very inadequate sum for a public building, was so well husbanded, and the materials and work, in consequence of Mr. Swartz's knowledge of the country and its language, were procured so exceedingly cheap, that a very handsome, lofty, and roomy structure was raised out of it."

Here, it is much to be regretted, Mr. Chambers' able and interesting sketch abruptly terminates. Writing, as it is probable, many years after the early period which alone it comprises, during which a constant epistolary correspondence was maintained by these two excellent men, of which considerable extracts will hereafter be given, had he been permitted to complete his intention, a more extensive memoir would nearly have been superseded. Brief, however, as the preceding fragment is, it contains a most faithful and animated outline of Swartz's character and labors, and recognizes those scriptural and sublime principles, and that simple, disinterested, and energetic devotion to the great work in which he had engaged, which so eminently and uniformly distinguished him throughout his long and holy career. The picture which Mr. Chambers has so unaffectedly, yet so powerfully, drawn of his venerated friend at the commencement of his settlement at Trichinopoly, substantially resembles him during every subsequent period of his life. No man ever maintained a more unvarying and consistent course. "Qualis ab incepto processerit,"—may be justly said to describe his entire career; and the portrait so happily sketched in the preceding letter, needs only to be exhibited in detail, and upon a large scale, to present a perfect model of the Christian missionary.

The church which Mr. Chambers mentions as originating in the pious zeal of Swartz and the liberal contributions of the English garrison at Trichinopoly, is said to be capable of holding from fifteen hundred to two thousand persons. Its erection was considerably promoted by the patronage and assistance of Colonel Wood, at that

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time commandant of the fort, and deservedly held in high estimation for his military talents. With this distinguished officer he lived in habits of intimate acquaintance, and dined frequently at his table; when after conversing with his family about half an hour, with that good sense and cheerfulness which were natural to him, he was accustomed to retire to his own apartment. Both Colonel and Mrs. Wood appear to have derived essential benefit from his ministry; and this formed the foundation of that Christian friendship, of which some interesting proofs will hereafter be afforded.

Adjoining the church, Swartz built a mission house, consisting of a hall and two rooms, with suitable offices, and subsequently an English and a Tamul school. In completing these useful and charitable works he expended the salary of 100*l.* per annum, which the government of Madras, without any solicitation on his part, had granted him as chaplain to the garrison; after which he expressed his intention, with the approbation of the society in whose service he was engaged, to apply one half of that sum to his own use, and the other to that of his congregation.

Important as he felt this station to be, the pressure upon the Danish mission in consequence of the loss of two of the elder brethren, led him to intimate to his former friends in Denmark, his wish to return to Tranquebar. This being communicated by the Royal Mission College at Copenhagen to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, while they strongly urged his continuance at Trichinopoly, especially as professor Francke had just informed them of two other candidates for the Tranquebar mission, the determination of the question was wisely referred by the society to the discretion of Mr. Swartz himself, who, in due time, happily announced his intention of remaining as their missionary at Trichinopoly.

The peace which had now subsisted for some years in the south of the Peninsula, was, in 1767, disturbed by the ambitious designs of the celebrated Hyder Ali. This extraordinary man, partly by his boldness and military talents, and partly by stratagem and intrigue, had raised himself from an obscure and private station, to the sovereignty of Mysore, and was evidently aiming at a more extensive dominion. His rapid progress at length alarmed the great powers of Southern India; and an alliance was

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formed between the Mahrattas, and Nizam Ali, Subahdar of the Deccan, at whose disposal the English agreed to place an auxiliary force, to check the farther advance of the Mysorean chief. The contest was carried on with the fluctuating policy and varying fortunes incident to Indian warfare. During the early part of it, Swartz's friend, Colonel Wood, distinguished himself by successfully repelling Hyder with a small body of troops against a very superior force, at the fort of Mulwaggle, though he was at a subsequent period unable to maintain his ground against that active and enterprising enemy. In the course of the two years during which the war continued, many opportunities were afforded to the pious missionary of exercising his Christian benevolence in attending the sick and wounded from the English camp, near Trichinopoly, some interesting notices of which occur in the following extracts from his journal for 1768.

Early in that year he left Trichinopoly, on a visit to his brethren at Tranquebar, taking the opportunity, pursuant to his constant custom, of instructing and admonishing the little congregations of Christians, as well as of addressing the unconverted natives, in the different towns and villages through which he passed. Parties of the latter, on a pilgrimage to Parhani, were exhorted to forsake such vain and unprofitable toils; to others, following with apparent indifference, in funeral processions, he pointed out sin as the cause of death, reminded them of their own mortality, and urged them to embrace the true doctrine of life and immortality, through the only Redeemer.

At Ammal-Savadi he describes a noble choultry built by the queen, which comprised beautiful upper apartments, with verandahs, spacious gardens, an avenue and grove, cool during the heat of noon, and a row of houses nearly a mile long, for the residence of a hundred Brahmins, who were daily fed in this splendid establishment, in the midst of which a new pagoda had been erected. Here he announced to the assembled multitude, among whom were a number of young Brahmins, the majesty of the true God, and of the only Mediator between God and men. While expounding the parable of the prodigal son, a Brahmin applied it to himself—"O," said the pious missionary, "that they would arise, and go to their Father!"

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Towards the evening of the fourth day of his departure from Trichinopoly, he reached Tranquebar, and found all his brethren well. Here he remained ten days, which he spent in preaching to the three congregations, German, Tamul, and Portuguese, in paternal conferences, and in visiting various Christian brethren.

On returning to Trichinopoly he noticed near Kuttalam, a magnificent banian tree, the girth of which measured seventy paces, and the widely spreading branches of which afforded a delicious shade. Here he visited the merchants at their booths, and discoursed to them on God, the supreme Being, on the fall, the Redeemer of men, and the way of salvation. They replied, "It is so written, but who can live thus? Who is able thus to eradicate his desires? We have it also on the palm leaves, but it is impossible to keep it." To this plausible and common objection, even among professed Christians, Swartz answered by pointing out the source from which strength may be derived.

At Combaconum where, he observes, there are above two hundred pagodas, the people were preparing for the monthly feast before the great temple.* His spirit was much moved on beholding their idolatry, and he earnestly appealed to them on the sin and folly of a superstition by which they could not but acknowledge that they were neither enlightened, strengthened, nor comforted. In this place, he says, "We talked ourselves quite weary with various heathen. When the catechist," Sædtinaicken, "read to them our Lord's warning against 'false prophets,' and said something in explanation, a Brahmin declared before all present, 'It is the lust of the eyes and of pleasure that prevents us from embracing the truth.' Many bore testimony that this was true." Upon this honest, but humiliating confession, Swartz justly observes, "St. Paul enumerates idolatry among 'the works of the flesh,' and corrupt nature does indeed derive support from it in more ways than one. If it were only an error of the *understanding*, the greater number of heathens would already have forsaken it; but being a work of *the flesh*, and Christianity requiring its crucifixion, they stop there. May divine power rescue them from it, through Jesus Christ!"

* One of the seven great pagodas of Southern India.

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At Ayenpottah, where he had many conversations with Mohammedans and heathens, his friend Captain Berg met and accompanied him to Tanjore. Here, he says, "my chief occupation was with our Christians, though I conversed also with Roman Catholics and others. To the protestant congregations I explained and applied the meritorious sufferings of Jesus Christ, as recorded in the gospel of St. Mark, and the unspeakable blessing which we derive from them; stirring ourselves up to true repentance, faith in this Saviour, gratitude and love. Never, O Lord Jesus, may it be effaced from my mind how much it cost thee to redeem me!"

During the month of April Mr. Swartz was much occupied in visiting the sick and wounded, who were sent from the English camp to Trichinopoly. "Here," he observes, "I often found blessed traces of awakening grace. A soldier said that he had been such thirty-two years. I asked him, how long he had served Christ? He wept, and replied, 'Alas! I have not yet entered his service.'"

"An officer," he writes in his journal, "who had previously discovered a great inclination to religion, and had entreated me to instruct him catechetically, just as I would an ignorant heathen, in which we had made a beginning, but were interrupted by the war, was brought in mortally wounded. He expressed a great desire for instruction. I accordingly visited him daily, and explained to him the chief points in practical Christianity. After a few days he appeared to be something better. He could occasionally take the fresh air, and his appetite returned. Under these circumstances, he gradually yielded to indifference as to religion. He listened, indeed, but not with real earnestness. At length, I said to him, 'I see you are quite indifferent. I fear you are deceiving yourself. Your wound is as mortal now as it was fourteen days ago. When you perceive that you are drawing near to your end, you will be terrified to think that you have been so foolish as to allow worldly men to draw you off from the chief concern.' He replied, 'It is true; they have flattered me with the hope that I should recover; but it is not so. I know that my wound is mortal.' After this, he became more earnest in prayer and meditation on the word of God. Before his death, I visited him, prayed with him, and exhorted him to commit himself in faith

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into the hands of his merciful Saviour. Speaking was painful to him; yet he said, he hoped to obtain mercy; and thus he departed, amid the exhortations and prayers of those around him."

How anxious this excellent missionary was to cherish in himself and his brethren the principles by which alone they could be animated in their self-denying labors, will appear from the following brief notice in his journal.

"August 2. After finishing the catechising of the children in the forenoon, the two catechists returned, and related to me with whom they had conversed, and what had been the purport of their conversations; and how a young man had avowed his willingness to embrace the Gospel. We then began, for our own edification, to meditate on the first Epistle of Paul to Timothy. On occasion of the apostolic wish, 'Grace, mercy, and peace,' we called to mind, that a teacher stands in the highest need daily and hourly of this threefold fruit of Christ's reconciliation; and that the believing apprehension of this precious grace is best calculated to strengthen him, to render him joyful and courageous in urging upon others salvation through Christ, as well as in cheerfully suffering for his sake."

On the 7th of August he notices the following instructive incidents. "The nabob's second son, who is a genuine disciple of Mohammed, that is, inclined to cruelty, watches narrowly the lives of Europeans; and if he remarks any thing wrong, he generally gives it a malicious construction, as if the Mohammedan doctrine rendered people better than the Christian. This young man, observing some Europeans, entered into conversation with them. I was the interpreter. 'It seems remarkable,' said he, 'to me, that Christians are so inclined to card playing, dancing, and similar amusements, which are contrary to the true law.' One of them answered, 'We think it no sin, but an innocent pastime.' 'Indeed,' said he, 'it is singular that you do not consider it sin, to spend your time in such amusements, when even the heathen themselves declare it to be sinful. It is certainly wrong to pursue such things, though you are of opinion that there is nothing sinful in them. You,' he continued, addressing one of the party, 'are a cashier; if you do not know the

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value of money, you inquire and inform yourself on the subject; why, then, do you not examine into *these* things? —the omitting such examination is a sin also. Nay, if you do not know whether it be right or wrong, and yet continue to play, that is still a greater sin. I am sure Padre Swartz would tell you at once that it is sinful, if you would but receive it.' The cashier replied, 'It is better to play a little, than to absorb all one's thoughts on money.' But the young nabob answered him very discreetly on this point, that we are not to justify one sin by another.

"So artful is he, that he will accost and converse with an European during divine service, and afterwards observe, 'If the man had the least reverence for the worship of God, he would not have allowed himself to be interrupted.'

"On the 15th of this month," continues Mr. Swartz, "in the morning I had a conversation with him. He first asked, how God was to be served, and how we should pray to him; and censured us for not washing our hands, and taking off our shoes, before prayer. I answered, that this was merely a bodily, outward act, which was of no value in the sight of God—that his word requires pure hearts, which abhor all and every sin, and approach him in humility and faith—we could then be assured that our prayer was acceptable to him. One of those present asked, 'From what must the heart be cleansed?' I replied, 'From self-love, from fleshly and worldly lusts; which constitute, according to the first commandment, the real inward nature of idolatry.' The nabob's son said, 'This inward cleansing is very good; but the outward is also necessary, and God is pleased with it, even though the inward cleansing be not perfect.' I replied, 'Not so. You should rather say, that God has pleasure in inward purity, though the hands be not washed immediately before prayer.'"

At the close of another conversation about this time, with some of the poor heathen natives, in which he had been endeavoring to convince them of the sin and folly of their idolatry, and to persuade them to embrace the blessed doctrines of the gospel, he thus expresses the genuine kindness of his heart, and affords a beautiful example of the tender earnestness with which the missionary should address them. "At length I said, as I often do to them,

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'Do not suppose that I reprove you out of scorn; no, you are my brethren; we are by creation the children of one common Father. It grieves us Christians, that you have forsaken that almighty gracious Father, and have turned to idols who cannot profit you. You know, because you have often heard, that a day of judgment is before us, when we must render up an account. Should you persist in remaining enemies to God, and on that day hear with dismay the sentence of condemnation, I fear you will accuse us Christians of not warning you with sufficient earnestness and fervor. Suffer yourselves, then, to be persuaded, since you see that we want nothing of you, but that you turn with us to God, and be happy.' They all declared that they were convinced of our sincere intentions, and that they would speak further with us."

In October, in a letter to Dr. Francke, after expressing his anxious wish for a second missionary, for the purpose of more extensive usefulness, he writes as follows.

"Though I should much prefer being at Tranquebar, for the enjoyment of the communion of faithful brethren, yet, when I look on our congregations, I feel that my presence is more necessary here. The catechists require daily superintendence and admonition to prevent them from relapsing into indolence and disorder. The heathen, too, though courteous to Europeans, are apt to behave unkindly to the poor catechists; so that they need countenance and encouragement. With regard to myself, I praise God, who has borne with my weakness, and prospered my labors. During the whole of this year my health has been good; so that my work has been easier to me than at any former period. Many heathens and Catholics have been this year instructed, and received into the congregation. Affliction, both from without and from within, has not failed us; but God has been our helper." He then mentions that many Europeans, not only among the soldiers of the garrison, but of the higher ranks, had been powerfully awakened to a sense of religion. Among others, he notices particularly one young man, who had made a temporary visit to Trichinopoly, and who, though virtuous and well disposed, knew but little of Christ, and of the real value of the gospel. "He visited me several evenings," says Swartz, "and acknowledged that he was

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stirred up to greater concern for his salvation. I testified my joy, but observed that he was at present trusting to the sandy foundation of his own righteousness, from which he could derive neither rest nor power. He received all that I said in good part, and began to read his New Testament better; that is, with prayer. Soon afterwards, he was invited to a gay party, but declined it, which had a good effect on others. He soon learned how the Gospel becomes saving, and communicates to man more power unto salvation than any considerations derived merely from the law. He went boldly forth; and, when many were displeased that a young man should speak so freely, he gladly bore the cross: and his example has been made a blessing to others." He concludes as follows.

"In my previous letters, I mentioned a Mohammedan, who had formerly been employed in the highest offices. This man understands Persian most thoroughly, and speaks it excellently. He often visited me of an evening, and gave me a complete idea of the Mohammedan doctrines and discipline, and read to me the rarest books he possessed. I thus learned to express myself in Persian, and to explain the doctrines of Christianity. Some months ago, this poor man was put under arrest, and confined to his own house, where he still remains. The nabob's son, a bigoted Mohammedan, says that he had offended his father, and on that account he was imprisoned. Every one, however, believes that it was in consequence of his having *visited me*, and expressed himself in terms too favorable to Christianity. God graciously help us for Christ's sake, and tread down Satan under our feet! The good Lord inwardly strengthen you, and by the comfort flowing from the inestimable mercy of reconciliation, animate you; and may your old age be truly blessed!"

In a letter, dated in the same month of October, 1768, addressed to the secretary of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, Mr. Swartz, after thanking him for the present of a Persian lexicon, gives a similar account of the old Mohammedan governor, just mentioned, as his instructor in that language, and takes occasion, from the circumstance of his arbitrary imprisonment, to notice the

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frequency of such occurrences, both at Trichinopoly and at Tanjore. He then proceeds to give a detailed account of the government of the latter country, of the wretched state of oppression and ignorance in which the great body of the people were then held, and of the numbers, wealth, and influence of the Brahmins.

"The king of Tanjore," he observes, "is, in the estimation of the ignorant, a prince who governs according to his despotic will; but he is, in fact, more a slave than a king. He seldom goes out; and often, when he purposes to do so, the brahmins tell him that it is not an auspicious day. This is sufficient to confine him to the house. His children are brought up in ignorance,—for why should a prince learn much? He need not be acquainted with writing and accounts,—for has he not servants enough for this? The number of his wives destroys all domestic peace. The first whom he espouses is denominated his lawful wife. By degrees, however, as he takes more, jealousy among them becomes a source of dangerous disquiet, and the love which should subsist between brethren is banished. So true it is, that when man departs from the ordinances of God, he treads in a thorny path.

"A despotic ruler, being intent only on increasing or preserving his power, entertains a distrust of all his ministers. He considers it expedient, therefore, often to humble them. Though a minister possess his favor for years, he sometimes falls at once. The king permits his house to be plundered, (this has often happened within my remembrance,) and lays him under a domiciliary arrest. No one must visit him, or speak to him. By degrees, this severity is relaxed. The ex-minister, thus fallen into disgrace, hunts after the failures of his successor, and endeavors to involve him in the same ruin, and frequently is restored to favor.

"The troops belonging to the rajah of Tanjore are chiefly cavalry,—about six thousand,—and two thousand foot. The cavalry are not furnished with horses, but each soldier provides his own. He who can collect a hundred horse, is appointed their captain. To these troops, a district is assigned, where they receive their pay from the tenants. If they do not give what they demand, they resort to force.

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"The Tanjore country is, however, as a well-watered garden. Notwithstanding all the oppression and injustice, the inhabitants subsist tolerably well: it teems with people. The land is divided into districts, and every district is leased. The lessee is obliged to advance at least the half of his rent; and as he cannot in general do this from his own resources, he borrows of the native merchants or Europeans, and gives forty, or even more, per cent. He borrows also what he requires for the support of his family; and all must be eventually extorted from the poor inhabitants. It may with truth be averred, that the poorer people enrich with their labor the idle and the proud. A cultivator of land in Tanjore, commonly gives sixty or seventy in the hundred. Supposing that he has on his ground a hundred bushels of rice, the king (or the lessee in his name) takes seventy; the remaining thirty are retained by the inhabitant; and with this he has to pay his servants and support his family. Nay, if the king needs money, as in time of war, he seizes upon all. I have myself witnessed the poor laborers contemplating at a distance the blessing of God upon the fields, while the king's people have reaped it all. Thus, the oppression being so great, they endeavor, by every possible means, to defraud the king. They are accustomed to say, 'Without stealing, we cannot live.' Hence it may easily be conceived what disposition to the maintenance of justice prevails in this country.

"Under a frame of government so wretched, the education of the young is miserably neglected. Few children learn to read, write, and cast accounts; and these are almost exclusively boys. It is a most rare occurrence for a father to afford his daughter the means of education. When taught to read, it is from books in which the fabled epiphanies of their gods, together with all their licentious acts, are delineated. We cannot, they think, be better than our gods; they every where practised lying, impunity, injustice, and revenge; these cannot, therefore, be sinful. Thus is the little which they know from reflecting on the works of creation, greatly obscured. In the temples of their deities, their most flagrant actions are described in images and pictures, which sink the people in the depths of vice and misery. The consequences of this devilish

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instruction are clearly visible. Both body and soul are destroyed. Thousands sensibly feel their errors.

"The children of the brahmins are commonly better educated. Besides the thousands attached to the idol temples, many of them farm the land, hold offices under the king, and act as clerks, overseers, and accountants. The offspring of the brahmins are in general clever, and learn languages quickly, especially when they hope to turn it to advantage. Many English gentlemen engage brahmins to keep their books; and hence a great number acquire the English. Besides this, they learn the Persian, and are employed by the nabob and others as interpreters. In every lucrative situation we find a brahmin. It is remarkable, that within the narrow limits of Tanjore, a hundred thousand vigorous young brahmins might, with very little trouble, be collected. With the exception of their daily ceremonies and ablutions, they do nothing: living in voluptuousness and corrupting sloth. They possess the best land, and give away little or nothing; besides which, the numerous pagan festivals are eminently profitable to them. I asked a wealthy brahmin whether they imparted to the poor a portion of their great revenues. He replied, 'No: the people give to *us* and the pagodas; but *we* contribute nothing.' What is asserted, therefore, in one of Mr. Holwell's books, as to the beneficence of the brahmins, is not to be credited. Some months ago, a brahmin declared to me plainly, 'The reasons why we do not embrace the Christian doctrine, are avarice, pride, and voluptuousness.'

"Meanwhile," adds this excellent man, with something of prophetic hope as to the future progress of Christianity, "we faint not; we know that Christ is ordained as a light to the Gentiles. He is able to dispel this heathen darkness. Confiding in his divine assistance, we go forth diligently among the natives to make known to them the way of life, and affectionately to invite them to the enjoyment of the salvation purchased for them by the Redeemer. The progress of conversion is not so great as we wish; still the rescuing of one single soul, (not to mention many,) is sufficient to encourage us not to be weary. Who knows to what important end the all-wise God may direct the revolutions which have taken place in India during the last twenty years? O that the Euro-

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peans in this country would discern the glory of God! Should he graciously work *a thorough change and reformation among the principal Europeans*, a blessing would spread through the whole land. Many salutary regulations might be introduced. Multitudes of abominations might be prevented, and thus the obstacles which have hitherto deterred the natives from embracing the Gospel might be lessened. There are several Englishmen here, who, through the converting grace of God, have been convinced that the knowledge and enjoyment of his loving-kindness are better than life, and consequently better than ill-gotten wealth."

Mr. Swartz thus refers, in a letter to a friend in London, of the same date as the preceding, to the painful topic noticed in the concluding sentence; and it is introduced chiefly for the purpose of contrasting that representation with the marked improvement in European character which has of late years been universally acknowledged.

"It is extremely difficult," he observes, "when describing our situation here, to give any one a just conception of it without adverting to the profligacy of the Europeans. The great among them aim at nothing but to live in pleasure, and to become rich. If not readily successful in the latter object, they resort to unjust means, the employment of which hardens the mind to so alarming a degree, that they will hear nothing of the word of God, and too frequently plunge into the most frightful infidelity."

After giving an account of himself and his labors during the year, similar to that contained in the extract from his letter to professor Francke, he adds, "O may the faithful God grant to me, a feeble creature, his powerful grace more and more, that I may spend my days to his glory, and the benefit of my neighbor. O that I had a dear brother with me, then could many be better instructed! In the mean time, God knows our affliction, and our sighs are not hidden from him. May he compassionate the poor heathen, and may his kingdom break forth here graciously!"

Mr. Swartz closes his journal for 1768 as follows:

"The conclusion of the year has been very melancholy with respect to political events. All the territory which the English had taken from Hyder-Naick, they have again

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lost. He approached near to Trichinopoly, and would probably have taken it, had not a rain of three days' continuance driven him off.

"God be gracious to us, and further his work! May he cause his countenance to shine upon us, that the heathen may know his ways, believe in him, and adore him as his children in Christ Jesus!"

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CHAPTER VII.

Continuation of hostilities—Zeal and disinterestedness of Swartz—His conference with a Romish Padre—Peace between Hyder Ali and the English—Swartz proceeds to Tanjore—His introduction to the Rajah—His character—Conversation at this interview—Swartz returns to Trichinopoly—His second visit to the Rajah with Colonel Wood—Preaches to the natives on the glacis, and in the Fort—The Rajah wishes to converse with him, but is prevented by his Ministers—Swartz's message to the King, and his reply—He returns to Trichinopoly—Mr. Chambers leaves that city—First letters of Swartz to that gentleman—Conversations with the natives, and with the Nabob's son—Attendance on sick Europeans—Letter from Mr. Chambers to his brother on a translation of the New Testament into Persian—Conversation with a sick soldier, and with natives, heathen and Mohammedan—Reflections of Swartz at the close of the year 1769.

Hostilities still continued during the first three months of the succeeding year; in the midst of which, Mr. Swartz visited a detachment of the English army near Trichinopoly, and preached to the troops both in English and German. No sooner had the enemy withdrawn from the surrounding villages, involved by their devastations in ruin, than his zeal and charity prompted him to repair to them to instruct and comfort the distressed inhabitants; while he declined accepting a legacy bequeathed to him by an officer to whom he had been eminently useful in religion, lest he should be suspected of interested motives.

Early in February he had a long and friendly discussion with a Romish Padre at the request of an officer's lady at Trichinopoly, who professed the Roman Catholic religion, but who had also received instruction from Swartz, and was desirous of hearing what each had to say in support

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of the differences between the two churches. To the usual question, where Protestantism was before the days of Luther and Henry VIII., Swartz justly replied, by referring to the testimony which had been uniformly borne against the papal perversions of divine truth by the Albigenses, John Huss, and the Bohemian brethren, and the followers of Wickliffe; he might have added, by the Syrian Christians in the mountains of Travancore. He then appealed to the word of God; affirming that while Protestants readily receive the testimony of antiquity, their faith in the divine authority of the sacred canon, independent of its internal evidences, does not rest exclusively on that of the Romish Church, the word of God having been possessed by thousands before that church, properly so called, existed.

The sophistry of the Papist in defending the worship of saints and images, was ably exposed by the pious Lutheran. "If you prostrate yourself before an image, complain to it of your affliction, and desire help, do you not honor it after an idolatrous manner? God says in the second commandment, 'Thou shalt not make any graven image —thou shalt not bow down to it nor worship it.' The Papist says, 'thou shalt.' See how Popery opposes itself to God." "The Papist," said the Padre, "is the follower of Peter." "I heartily wish," replied Swartz, "that it were so. Follow Peter, and we from our hearts will rejoice. Peter was humble, and desired no worship, when he was in the house of Cornelius.* Your new Roman Peter will be worshipped. Examine into it again, my worthy Padre, and follow after God and his word." From this point the conversation proceeded to what Swartz calls the idolatry of the mass, and the refusal of the sacramental cup to the laity, which were but feebly defended by the Romish Padre; to whom in conclusion, he addressed this brief but solemn warning. "My dear Padre, prove all things by the word of God. You and I shall soon appear before the judgment seat of Christ, where we shall have to render an account of our ministry and doctrine, and the souls which we have neglected." One of his people called him away several times. "He departed," says Swartz, "wishing that I might become a saint, and I

* Acts x. 25, 26.

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wished him sincerity of heart. The captain's lady was struck with his rejection of our Bible, while he refused to produce his own. May God help her to a clear and saving knowledge of Christ!"

At the beginning af March he attempted a journey to Tanjore; but he had not proceeded far, before the enemy's army approached Trichinopoly, and burnt great part of Ureiur. Messengers were in consequence despatched to him and his companions, apprising them of their danger. "I turned back," he says, "and beheld Ureiur in flames. God be praised for his gracious protection!" The ravages of war, however, having happily terminated in April, by a treaty of peace between Hyder Ali and the Madras government, Swartz resumed his intended journey, and arrived at Tanjore on the 20th of that month. Here he preached daily two or three times, visited the members of the three congregations individually, and attended the schools.

The most important result of this visit to Tanjore was his introduction to the rajah Tuljajee, or, as he was at that period usually called, the king; and the favorable impression made upon his mind, which led to the kindness and confidence with which that prince ever afterwards distinguished him. The rajah Tuljajee was at this period in the prime of life, of good natural talents, and of mild and dignified manners; indolent and self-indulgent, like the generality of Hindoo princes, but not at that time tyrannical or oppressive; and though too much under the influence of the brahmins, tolerant and liberal in his views of religion. He is said to have formed an exception to the general ignorance of men of his rank in India, and to have successfully cultivated Sanscrit literature, so as even to have produced some poetical compositions in that language, which are still recited at Tanjore as proofs of his genius and learning. Such was the Hindoo prince with whose history that of Swartz is henceforth so intimately interwoven.

"At five in the afternoon of the 30th of April," says the excellent missionary in his journal for 1769, "I was introduced to the king. He was seated on a couch suspended from pillars, surrounded by his principal officers, and opposite to him a seat was placed for me." The conversation began by the Persian interpreter informing him

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that the king had heard a good report of him, to which Swartz replied in Persian, expressing his thanks for the kindness which he entertained for him, and wishing that God might enrich him abundantly with every blessing. The interpreter omitting to repeat the wish, one who sat by told him, "He wishes you a blessing." "He is a priest," replied the king. Perceiving by the manner in which he made this observation, that he was but imperfectly acquainted with the Persian language, he requested permission to speak in Tamul, at which the rajah appeared pleased.

He first inquired how it happened that some European Christians worshipped God with images, and others without them; to which Swartz answered, that the worship of images was expressly forbidden by the word of God, and that this corrupt practice originated in the neglect of the Holy Scriptures, which had in consequence been removed by such Christians from general use among the people. The rajah next inquired how man could attain to the knowledge of God. In reply to this question, the missionary pointed out, in his usual manner, the works of creation, and the bounties of divine Providence, as testifying the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, and his word as clearly revealing whatever is essential to salvation. "If it please the king," said he, "I will set before him briefly the principal subjects of that word." The rajah having signified his assent, Swartz proceeded to explain the nature and divine attributes of God, one of the attendants repeating his explanation of each point very distinctly, slowly, and audibly. He then remonstrated against the worship of idols, as inconsistent with the perfections and glory of God, observing, that before their conversion from heathenism, the European nations also made images, and adored the work of their own hands with salams and salams. The king laughed, for the expression struck him forcibly, and said, "He speaks plain." The pious missionary next shortly urged the corruption into which mankind had fallen, which is visible from universal and melancholy experience; and then unfolded the method of deliverance through the Mediator and Saviour whom God has graciously provided, and his indescribable willingness to receive those who turn to him—illustrating this encouraging assurance by his favorite and appropriate parable of the prodigal son.

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Upon the usual introduction of sweetmeats, of which Swartz took a little, he said, "We Christians are in the habit, before we partake of food, of praising God for his goodness, as well as of imploring grace to use the gift to his glory;" and on being desired to offer up such a prayer, he immediately complied. With the simplicity and freedom from the apprehension of ridicule which peculiarly characterized him, he then, at the request of the king, who had been informed that Christians were accustomed to sing in celebrating divine worship, sang some verses of the Lutheran hymn in the Tamul translation of Mr. Fabricius, beginning,

"My God, to thee this heart I bring."

The rajah declared himself much pleased, apologizing that he had detained him so long, and desiring him to dine with Captain Berg, who was his constant friend and companion, in the palace. "I withdrew," he adds, "repeating my wishes for his happiness."

Mr. Swartz remained at Tanjore about three weeks during this visit, and then returned to Trichinopoly. A few days afterwards the rajah having inquired for him, and being told that he had left Tanjore, said, "I thought he would have stayed with us;" and on being reminded that he had not desired him to remain, he replied, "It is my most earnest wish that he would continue here." Captain Berg having informed him of this favorable disposition of the rajah, Mr. Swartz consulted his brethren at Tranquebar, Cuddalore and Madras, as to the best mode of proceeding, who unanimously advised him to return to Tanjore without delay, in order to ascertain what the rajah's views really were. Accordingly, in the month of June he proceeded thither in company with his friend Colonel Wood, who was about to leave Trichinopoly, and whom the rajah was desirous of seeing as he passed through Tanjore. "We set out," he says, "and, on the way, I had many pleasing conferences with the natives. When introduced to the king in the presence of Colonel Wood, he was very friendly. After a few inquiries respecting the welfare of the colonel and his family, he asked me what was the design of our celebrating Sunday? I explained to him the command of God relative to the

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consecration of the Sabbath, and his merciful intention in giving it, namely, to make us holy and happy, by devoting it to the concerns of our souls. He then inquired why we Christians did not anoint ourselves as they did. I replied, that the heathen thought they were thereby purified from sin; but that we knew that sin could not thus be removed—that God had provided a more effectual remedy by sending a mighty Saviour who had taken away our sins by the sacrifice of himself; and that we must seek forgiveness through faith in this Redeemer.

He then asked some questions respecting the king of England, and expressed a wish to visit our country. I took occasion in reply to say something concerning the religion which is there taught, and how much it contributes to the welfare both of princes and people; adding, "This is our wish, that you and your subjects may embrace it to your present and eternal happiness. The king looked at me, and smiled. His chief brahmin often interposed, and told him what he had seen among the Papists at Pondicherry; to which he replied, that we were very different from the Papists. He then desired me to speak to the brahmin in Persian, which I did, and addressed a short admonition to him; but he professed to have forgotten his Persian. Here the conversation ended, and we took our leave. I accompanied Colonel Wood a day's journey beyond the river; and parted from him and his lady, who is powerfully awakened to religion, with prayer. They were both greatly affected. May God mightily carry on the work he has begun in them, and bring it to a glorious issue!"

After this interesting conference with the rajah, not having as yet received permission to enter the fort, Swartz repaired daily, early and late, to the glacis near it, and addressed the natives, who in great numbers surrounded him. Frequently, from the violence of the land wind, he was covered with the dust which flew around: he generally spoke upon the great subjects of repentance, faith, and reconciliation with God, through Jesus Christ, till he was quite exhausted. Sometimes he expounded the parables by which our Saviour displayed the treasures of the kingdom of heaven, and the means of attaining them. The people commended his doctrine, and often said, "O that the king would embrace it! All would then forsake heathenism." At the end of a fortnight he received an

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unlimited permission to enter the fort whenever he was disposed. He in consequence visited the principal officers of the rajah, and fully declared to them the Gospel of Christ. One of them having offered him a present, he civilly declined it, requesting him and those who were assembled, not to be offended at his refusal, as he was only anxious not to interpose any obstacle to their reception of Christianity, by giving occasion to any to suspect him of interested motives. "He who tendered me the present," says this wise and excellent man, replied, "that he should never think this of me." I answered, "That may be; but you cannot prevent others from thinking thus; I seek the good of your souls, and not gifts. I accepted a nosegay, and so we parted."

Sometimes he went through the principal streets of the fort, when many of the inhabitants, brahmins and others, collected around him, and listened for a long time. One of the brahmins observed, "You allure the people with money." "I replied," said Swartz, before the whole multitude, "Prove to me that either I or my brethren at Tranquebar have decoyed a single heathen to us with money, and I will hold my tongue." It was said, that when speaking one day before the palace, the rajah stationed himself in an upper room, and after listening to his address, observed, "He makes out our gods to be downright demons! We must keep him here to instruct this foolish people." Upon another occasion when near the palace, the king sent to desire him not to quit the fort, as he wished to speak with him. Upon this a number of brahmins and others belonging to the court hastened to the palace, and Swartz prepared himself for the interview; but the chief brahmin, who had the control of the revenue, came and diverted the king from his purpose. He sent, however, to tell him that he would speak to him in the evening; but again he was prevented. "The poor king," he observes, in a letter to Dr. Francke, in which he briefly mentions this remarkable visit to Tanjore, "sits, as it were, in a prison. His officers deceive him and the whole country, and resist to the utmost the settlement of a missionary here. Many," he says in his journal, "even of the brahmins themselves, said that the king would gladly have had me with him, but he was afraid of the people around him. The great about the court saw, with

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regret, that he was desirous of detaining me, being fearful lest their corrupt practices might be exposed. At length I visited one of his principal officers, and after declaring to him the Gospel of Christ, I begged to make my humble salam to the king, and to ask what was his purpose with regard to me; that I was come at his gracious summons, ready to serve him from my heart in the cause of God; but that as I had an engagement at Trichinopoly, it would be necessary that some one should take charge of my duty there, if I were to remain at Tanjore. I requested therefore to know the king's intention. The answer which I received the next day was this; that I might return for this time to Trichinopoly, but that I was to remember that the king looked upon me as *his padre*. Many," he adds, "of the common people were grieved that the king should allow himself to be hindered by his servants from detaining me near him. But God can, and in his own time will, cause this nation to adore and fear his name. May He compassionate this poor people, now lying in darkness and the shadow of death, for his name's sake!"

Such is the account which Mr. Swartz gives in his Journal, as well as in letters to Dr. Francke and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, of his first interviews with the rajah of Tanjore, which led to his subsequent establishment and favorable reception as a missionary in that kingdom. In the month of July he returned to Trichinopoly, and resumed his ordinary labors among the Christians and heathens of that city.

Soon afterwards Mr. W. Chambers, who had resided there during the two preceding years, was recalled to Madras. The sentiments and pursuits of these two excellent men were so congenial, that a cordial friendship, founded upon Christian principles, was the result of their intercourse with each other, which was cherished by a regular correspondence from this period to the death of Mr. Chambers, in the year 1793. With the exception of occasional letters to a few eminent persons, chiefly in Germany, which were almost considered as points of official duty, Swartz was not accustomed to write much in detail, even to his most intimate friends. His time was too fully occupied with the various labors of his mission, to allow of his indulging in an extensive correspondence.

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His letters were, therefore, in general brief, and relating, for the most part, to ordinary circumstances and concerns; but they are all strikingly characteristic of his habitual and elevated piety, his fine manly sense, his genuine benevolence, and his affectionate desire for the spiritual and temporal welfare of his friends and all around him.

The following are two of his earliest letters to Mr. Chambers; and when it is considered how comparatively recent was his acquaintance with the English language, the general ease and correctness of his style are extraordinary.

"Five days ago I received your agreeable letter, and praise God for all the mercies he has bestowed on you in your journey, and on your arrival at Madras. I doubt not but he will multiply his favors according to his wonted mercy. In your new station you will need his gracious assistance. You have had some specimens of the Malabar people's sad art of evading truth, and of affirming lies with the boldest countenance. This little experience will help you in some respects, at least so far as to make you cautious.

"But our caution, what doth it avail, unassisted by divine grace? May the Spirit of Jesus Christ strengthen and comfort you every moment! What you write, touching the clergymen,* is doleful indeed. But you know, that sort of people, when they refuse to accept of divine grace, have always been the worst of enemies to the promotion of the cause of Christ, as all history declares, and particularly that of the sufferings of Christ. I hear there is another lately arrived. O that he may be a disciple of the humble Jesus!

"Many people went from hence to Madras, white and black, to the court martial, which seems now likely to take place.† You are on the spot. May you be serviceable! I wish and pray a gracious God may help our friend, to behave, in all circumstances, as a true disciple

* Probably referring to one of those who at this period were but too frequently unworthy members of the sacred profession.

† This refers to an investigation into the military conduct of Colonel Wood, in the campaign with Hyder Ali, subsequent to the battle of Mulwaggle, in which he signally defeated the Mysorean chief.

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of the meek and holy Jesus. A great degree of true humility, denial of himself, presence of mind, in short, nothing less than divine grace, will be able to carry him through his present troubles with a clear and clean conscience. Pray often for him. We will here entreat the Lord likewise to glorify his name in this affair. Mr. Green was taken ill the very day your letter arrived; but he is now better, and desires to be remembered by you. Your George begins to write. He seems to promise well in that respect. At present I am building a verandah and a little chamber for Mr. Green. This has hindered me from employing the carpenter to make your palanquin.

"Farewell, my friend; and whenever you appear before the throne of Christ, remember your fellow pilgrims at Trichinopoly. Salute in the Lord, all our friends, particularly the colonel and Mrs. Wood, and her little ones.

"I am, dear friend, your most obedient humble servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Trichinopoly, 8th of Sept. 1769."

"It is a long time since I received your kind letter. The evening hour which I used to spend in writing letters, as you know, I have spent a long time with Mr. U., who was more than once on the borders of eternity. Often he could hardly pronounce a word. I admonished him to repentance and faith in Jesus Christ. He was always glad to see me, and joined in prayer, nay sometimes, at least once, he entreated me to pray with him. At present he is in a way of recovery, and I think not ————. I cannot write more; since what passeth between a clergyman and a sick person ought not to be divulged. But O the heart of man! So far I may tell you, that we were very plain. May God have mercy on him and us all! The heart of man is fickle beyond expression. Christian steadfastness is a glorious grace springing from the enjoyment of the redemption. In proportion as we enjoy its precious fruits, particularly pardon and peace, we obtain confidence in God, and count all things but loss, that we may win Christ, and be found in him.

"Concerning the palanquin, the carpenter would have gladly done it, but to this day I have not got a plank from Tranquebar, though they promised to send them, as soon as they arrived from the Malabar coast, which would cer-

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tainly be at the beginning of October. The bamboo I hope to get soon. Write me in your next how I shall send it to you.

"How do you go on in the Persian language? Where do you live? How is the new clergyman? Have you not yet met with one who dares to be good at Madras? Here at Trichinopoly is great coldness. Mrs. —— and I are exactly as strangers. I have seen her twice or thrice at her house, but she takes care not to be molested. Every Monday there is a concert at her house, and daily more than one card-table. The altar-piece is finished.* It is done, as they say, very well. In the Persian we have several passages; as, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.' John xvi. 23. John xvii. 3. 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God,' &c. 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.' How is every thing in the colonel's house carried on? Can you see that they go forward in their pilgrimage?

"We think of you often in prayer. May Jesus Christ strengthen you to fight the good fight of faith, laying hold on eternal life!

"I am sincerely, dear friend, your affectionate friend and humble servant, C. F. SWARTZ.

"Trichinopoly, Nov. 6, 1769."

"Saruvaien and Sadtinaicken are upon a journey near the Kaller, to preach the Gospel to the poor Gentiles and Papists. Thy kingdom come!"

The allusion in the preceding postscript to the labors of his two catechists may with propriety introduce a few additional notices of his own from his journal during the remainder of the year.

In November, being at Urejur, near a stone choultry, which was full of idols, Swartz met some natives, who wished to refer to him a dispute in which they were en-

* For his new church at Trichinopoly. The texts of Scripture which Swartz mentions were inscribed in gold characters, and are probably the only specimen of his composition in that language, which he spoke fluently. The first of them must have been peculiarly obnoxious to the pride and bigotry of the Mohammedans, who were at that period very powerful at Trichinopoly.

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gaged. He said, with his wonted wisdom, "You contend with one another for trifles, and cannot brook the loss of small things; but the loss of your souls, and their eternal welfare, you leave out of sight. Begin to care for better things!"

The next day, he visited some of the natives who were on the corn floor, employed in cleaning the rice which they had that morning reaped. "The process," he observes, "is very simple. The grain is cut in the morning, it then lies a short time on the field, and soon after it is carried to the floor. They grasp a good handful, beat it three or four times against the ground, clean, winnow, and measure it. The nabob takes sixty out of one hundred parts, the tenant forty; out of which he must pay the laborers. Here," says Swartz, "sat a number of the inhabitants, and looked on as the rice was winnowed. I sat down with them, and explained to them the Gospel of Christ, and invited them to a participation of the blessings of grace."

At another place, he conversed with two gardeners, and pointed out to them the way of becoming spiritually fruitful. They said, "We have not yet obeyed our own shasters: how should we now keep the true law? When we leave you, we forget what we have heard." They were told that they must pray to God. "How," said they, "are we to pray?" "Act," replied Swartz, "like starving beggars. Do not they know how to set forth their hunger and distress? Set before God your ignorance, obduracy, and misery, and beseech him to open your eyes to discern him and his true word. This you may do, even in the midst of your labors. But come also, and allow yourselves to be instructed. Try this for ten days; it will assuredly be better with you if you follow this advice. *Consider that in a few days, perhaps, you may be happy or miserable for ever;* give, therefore, all diligence, and seek your everlasting salvation. They appeared friendly, and left me."

"On the 8th of November," he writes, "I spoke with the Nabob's son, who at present commands the regiment stationed here and in the surrounding districts, which, it is reported, he farms of his father for an immense sum of money. He was accompanied by his priest, and said to me, 'Padre, let this priest answer you a question!' I said,

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'The great question is, How shall we be freed from sin; from its dominion, as well as its punishment?' The priest being unable to express himself with facility in Persian, the Nabob's son himself replied, 'Hate and forsake anger, sensuality, envy; and so you will be clean.' I said, 'You require life from the dead. Say to a dead man, walk! and see if he will obey.' He said, 'What is not done deliberately, will not be imputed to us.' I answered, 'You separate the holiness from the goodness of God. He will doubtless forgive, but in such a way as that his holiness be not thereby obscured,—namely, through Jesus Christ.' 'Certainly,' he said, 'we must confide in God, so as to fear him.'"

Swartz next mentions his attendance on two sick Europeans, one of whom appeared to be effectually changed and converted by the grace of God from a life of worldliness and sin, to deep humility, self-denial, and willingness to bear the cross. The other, a person of rank, suddenly brought, by one of the prevalent diseases of the country, to the very brink of the grave, he visited almost daily for a fortnight after evening prayers. At length, he began to recover a little strength, when Swartz represented to him how mercifully God had spared him, and how anxious he should be to express his gratitude, and his determination to live henceforth as a real Christian; urging him particularly to receive the holy communion. "His answer was, 'that he could not resolve upon this in India, because such was the state of things here, that one often felt compelled to act in opposition to conscience; but that if he returned home, he would communicate.' I replied, 'If you are not in a state to partake of the Holy Supper in India, you are not in a condition to die happily here.' 'He did not live,' he said, 'in open sin, and committed himself to the mercy of God.' I conversed with him much afterwards," he adds; "but he heard all in silence, just as the heathens do, without any satisfactory reply. But so it is with the best of mere natural men. May God help us!"

The translation of the New Testament in the Persian language had often occupied the attention of Swartz, and of his friend, Mr. W. Chambers, who, in a letter to his brother, afterwards Sir Robert Chambers, Chief Justice of Bengal, written during his visit to Trichinopoly, thus

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adverts to their mutual anxiety to obtain a translation of the entire New Testament into the Persian language.

"I told you in a former letter, that Mr. Swartz had struck into a new path at this place, by having already made himself master of the Hindostanee language, and continuing to acquire a knowledge of the Persian. As he was upon this plan when I came up about seven months ago, he was very well pleased with my having brought with me the Persian Gospels; and these, I assure you, are read with such profound veneration and attention by the more learned Mohammedans, as would surprise you. But Mr. Swartz, though he could not but acknowledge the advantage these gave him in showing the fundamental doctrines of our religion, yet has often lamented his want of the latter part of the New Testament, in which alone the application of those doctrines is to be found. Indeed, the sophistical questions they so frequently put to us, in perusing the 'Ingeel,' (as they call it,) do but too plainly discover to us the disadvantage of not being possessed of a *complete Persian New Testament.* Mr. Swartz is a man of such extensive learning, of such strength of judgment, is of so regular a conduct, so cheerful a disposition, and such sincere piety, that I think there can scarce be a man more likely to succeed in such an undertaking as this is, if he had only the proper means. He has already written to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to beg they may supply him with some books, and particularly the complete New Testament in this language, if such a thing can be procured. But I believe his modesty, in the infancy of such a scheme, has prevented his descanting so largely upon it as he would, if he were to open his mind. He has declared to me, however, with some energy, that he thought if some hundred impressions of the Persian New Testament, in a portable volume, without any translation, could be printed off in England, either by subscription or any other means, they might be dispersed in this country amongst the Moors, in all human probability to great advantage.* The son of the nabob said to him one day—'Padre, we always regarded you Europeans as a most irreligious race of men, unacquainted

* This is a striking anticipation of the opinion afterwards expressed upon this subject by the late Sir William Jones.

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even with the nature of *prayer*, till *you* came and told us you had good people amongst you in Europe; since you are come here, indeed, we begin to think better of you!' Both he (Mr. Swartz) and your humble servant, begin now to be a little known among them; but I assure you, at first they seemed vastly surprised to find there was any thing rational in our faith, or that any of us pretended to holiness of life. Mohammed Panáh (the Moorman I mentioned in a former letter) agreed once so far with us, and talked so loudly in praise of the 'Ingeel,' even before his own countrymen, that I really thought he was going to turn Christian:—Mr. Swartz happening to tell him the circumstance within his knowledge of an Englishman having sent back some valuables from scruples of conscience,—he, (Mohammed,) in a large company of Moormen of rank, began to talk highly of our 'Eemáhu,' (faith and religion,) and as a proof of the excellence of it, brought up this very circumstance; and at the end of the narration he exclaimed, 'There's an *Eemáhu* for you! where shall we find a Mussulman that would do so?' He talked at this rate so long and so strenuously, that there was an universal report amongst the Moormen, even to the Nabob, that Mohammed Panáh was going to be a convert of Mr. Swartz; and upon this he found himself deserted by all his acquaintance, particularly his great ones, that before had reverenced him for his learning. This the old man had not strength to bear; and, resigning himself up to that passion which gets hold of us all, in some degree, 'the fear of man,' he tacked about, and has ever since, in the presence of his countrymen, disputed against some of the principal points of Christianity with all his usual sophistry.

"Who knows, however, what such a man might have done before now, if he had but had one more to keep him in countenance? and who can say that he might not have had many more, if the New Testament had been known among them? All I have to beg of you, is, that you will procure for me *one* Persian New Testament at least, if possible; and as for the other scheme, you know best, whether you can at all promote it. I am well aware of the difficulty of bringing any such thing about in the present age, and therefore scarcely know what to say to you upon the subject: you have the state of the case,

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however, and it is your particular province, you know, to discuss the merits of it. One thing you may do, perhaps, viz.; if you are acquainted with any of the members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, you may back what Mr. Swartz has said in his letter with what I have said in this; and he, as well as the religion we profess, will both be much obliged to you. To a friend, what can I say more?"*

Though the early zeal of Mr. Swartz and Mr. Chambers, and the subsequent attempts of the latter, were not successful in the important object to which the preceding letter refers, it is gratifying to know that more than one excellent translation of the New Testament into the Persian language has long since been distributed in India,† and that many Mohammedans have been convinced of its divine inspiration, and instructed in its sacred truths by means of those invaluable works.

The testimony of the Nabob's son, to the exemplary piety of Swartz, as incidentally mentioned by his young friend, who afterwards, like the excellent missionary, contributed to raise the estimate of the European character in the native mind, will not fail to be appreciated as it deserves.

With what wisdom and kindness Mr. Swartz expounded the doctrines of the Gospel, his journals frequently testify. Thus he relieved the fears which our Lord's declaration, (John vi. 44, No man can come unto me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him,) had excited in the mind of a sick soldier in the hospital at Ureju, who had been religiously disposed in Europe, but whose good impressions had been much effaced in India. "Well," I said, "does not the Father draw you by the word of his gracious Gospel, when you read what Christ has done and suffered for you, what blessings he has obtained for you, what promises he has given you, what help he has offered you, what divine exhortations he has addressed to you? Does not the Father draw you by all these? But you expect every thing without using the appointed means. Humbly improve those means, and confide in him that he will impart to you more and more grace."

* The constant conclusion of all Persian letters.

† Particularly that of the lamented Henry Martyn.

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"On the 13th, and two following days of November," says this pious and grateful observer of divine Providence, "I was engaged only with the children in the schools, and with a sick person; the almost incessant rain preventing me from going out. The gracious God has copiously refreshed this district, so that the high lands, which cannot be watered by the river, are rendered fruitful by the showers. Praised be God! On the 20th, I went out early. It was a peculiarly pleasant morning; the beams of the sun, after the late rains, being doubly reviving. A heathen came to me, whom I affectionately entreated not to neglect so good a God, who created, preserves, and redeemed us. During this month the brahmins and others repair to the river to bathe. On the 21st, a vast multitude being assembled, I suggested to the brahmins, whether their outward washings could purify; and added, that the great God had indeed provided and revealed to mankind a divine method of purification from sin."

The next day after, pointing out to a party of attentive hearers the sin and folly of idolatry, and explaining the leading doctrines of divine truth, a brahmin said, "We also have books and priests, and we must not depart from them. You do well to believe your law, and to instruct the ignorant; but that we, who have learned something, should go over to you, can never be." "If a blind man," I replied, "pretend to show others the way, both must fall into the ditch. You have priests; but prove whether what they teach be truth or falsehood, light or darkness. To what purpose has God given you understanding? Pray to him also that he would guide you to the knowledge of the truth. You well know how your priests instruct. You will shortly have a festival at Seringham, during which they will exhibit the obscene images and actions of your idols. Do you call that instructing in what is good? Look at the effects which such instructions produce. Is not your country overwhelmed with impurity? Upon this we seated ourselves under a tree, and I expounded and appropriated to them the parable of the prodigal son.

"I again visited the sick in the hospital. Some thought that this school of the cross had not been unblessed to them. In the afternoon, I was called to an officer of the nabob, who was born in the principality of Halberstadt.

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He was very ill, and his mind much distressed. An imprudent marriage, against which I had earnestly warned him, had injured him much both in body and soul, which he now deeply lamented. I directed him to Christ, and his blood of reconciliation, by which all our sins can be blotted out, and prayed with him."

"December. A Mohammedan from the north, who wished to be a chief priest, visited me with his wife. We sat down before the church-door. He inquired concerning the Christian doctrine, when that of the atonement was chiefly insisted on. He said, 'My mind is truly in doubt and anxiety.' 'Turn, then,' I replied, 'to him who can and will relieve you.' His followers went into the church, and performed their evening devotions kneeling. This man has since visited me only twice. 'The nabob,' said another Mohammedan, near him, 'is against it. What can we do?' To this a third, who is in the nabob's confidence, assented. When I asked him, therefore, afterwards, why he never came to me—'The times are such,' said he, 'that whoever converses with you must suffer for it.'"

"Many among the heathen, also," Swartz observes in his letters to Dr. Francke and to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, "have owned themselves convinced in their hearts of the truth of the Christian religion, but the cross which they must take up as soon as they embrace Christianity, deters them from a public profession of it." Notwithstanding these difficulties and discouragements, he adds, "I have baptized twenty-five adults in the course of this year, received several Roman Catholics into the Protestant church, and five children have been born in the congregations. Some, especially of the women, so conduct themselves, that I have a good hope that the word of God has not been preached to them in vain. We exhort one another to this end, and trust that God will, according to his goodness, permit us to behold with rejoicing the days of harvest."

"At the sacred festival of Christmas," thus Swartz concludes his journal for the year 1769, "we endeavored to stir up ourselves and the congregations to faith, love, and thankfulness, by the blessed Gospel of the unspeakable love of God, as it is manifested in the incarnation of Christ;" and in a short letter, dated December 23, in

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which he informs his friend, Mr. Chambers, that he had despatched the furniture which he had left at Trichinopoly, he thus expresses his grateful emotions on the return of that hallowed season.

"I wish you may enjoy the fullness of grace, purchased for us by Jesus Christ. May the good tidings raise your heart to holy joy, thankfulness, and love! Remember me to all our friends."

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CHAPTER VIII.

Mr. Swartz's general occupations during the year 1770—Conversion of a Pandaram—Journey to Madras and Cuddalore—Letters to Mr. Chambers—Devotional service with English soldiers at Trichinopoly—Further Letters to Mr. Chambers—Visit to Tanjore—Extracts from his journal of conversations with natives—Return to Trichinopoly—Swartz visits the great mosque, and addresses the Mohammedans—Letter to Dr. Knapp, with a sketch of the proceedings of the year—Excitement of the Roman Catholics in Tanjore—His anxiety for a colleague.

The year 1770 was spent, like the preceding, in diligent labors among the heathen and others, and in visiting his Christian brethren. "From the commencement to the end of this year," he observes, in his journal, "the gospel of God reconciled to us in Christ, has been preached to the poor heathen in Trichinopoly, Seringham, and the surrounding villages. Daily, morning and afternoon, have the catechists gone forth, and sowed the seed of the word of God. In the afternoons I have myself accompanied one of them. The conviction among many thousand heathen and Roman Catholics is certainly remarkable, so that they even speak of it among one another. The fear of man, however, and other similar causes, keep them back. Notwithstanding, may God yet have mercy on them! In addition to my employment in the schools throughout the year, except during two months, in which I travelled to Madras, I have in the mornings held preparations with various natives, heathen and Roman Catholic, for receiving them into the communion of our church."

With respect to some of his converts, he reports the most pleasing and satisfactory proofs of sincerity; while as to others, he with equal ingenuousness acknowledges

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the superficial and temporary nature of their profession of Christianity. Among other instances of success he particularly mentions the following.

"A young Pandaram, who for nearly seven years had resorted to all the celebrated pagodas and reputed sacred waters, without finding rest to his soul, was accosted by us one afternoon near the river. He had, he said, often entertained doubts as to the whole of the heathen ceremonies. A Roman Catholic had given him a little brazen crucifix; this he had carried about him, and often, as he told us, had placed it before him, and worshipped. 'To-day,' he said, 'I was at the river, and beholding the numerous pagodas of Seringham, I thought within myself, What is all this? What can it avail? Just as I was thinking thus, your catechists approached and recommended Christianity to me. I will now see what effect your doctrines will have. If I discover in them any thing better than I have found in heathenism, I will cheerfully embrace them.' We recommended him to remain with us a fortnight, and attend to the Christian doctrines with becoming seriousness and prayer; honestly to state the doubts he might at any time entertain; and when he had in some degree ascertained the nature of Christianity, to determine what he would do. He was pleased with the proposal, and attended daily to what was addressed to those who were under a course of catechetical preparation; and at length voluntarily laid aside his Pandaram's habit, and gave up his string of a particular kind of corn, which both Pagans and Romish Christians use as a rosary. He learned with diligence, and began to pray, being daily present when I prayed with my servant morning and evening. After holy baptism, he requested that an opportunity might be afforded him of again learning to read, which he had previously been taught, but had forgotten. He has now been with us four months, and nothing inconsistent has been perceived in him. The knowledge of Christ will render him truly zealous and sincere."

The journey to Madras, alluded to in the preceding extract, occupied the months of February and March; "but as I did not keep a perfect diary," says this conscientious missionary in his journal for the year, "I have passed it by, from an apprehension that much might be now written that was not accurate, and consequently not

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according to truth. On the whole journey, repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, were proclaimed to the heathen and to the Roman Catholics; and at the request of my brethren, I visited the different and distant congregations in the country, in order to impress upon their hearts a word of exhortation."

From Cuddalore, on his return to Trichinopoly, Swartz thus addressed his friend, Mr. Chambers.

"In my journey I have frequently considered your synagogue, (remember me to that gentleman who used that fine expression,) and wished you divine blessing. But as in every Jewish synagogue at least ten persons were requisite to keep up divine service, so I wish you may increase in ten times ten hundred, and if possible, thousand. Let Jesus be your high priest and preacher. Grow in him, and what I told you last, keep in memory, or rather in constant practice. Read frequently John xvii. 3, 11, 15, 16, 21; ἵνα πάντες ἓν ὦσι, καθὼς σὺ πάτερ ἐν ἐμοὶ κἀγὼ ἐν σοὶ, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἓν ὦσι, ἵνα ὁ κόσμος πιστεύσῃ ὅτι σύ με ἀπέστειλας. Let us, therefore, according to that heavenly pattern and divine admonition, strive to be one—

"One in doctrine,
One in adhering to Christ,
One in loving him,
One in despising and renouncing the world,
One in loving one another,
One in bearing the cross.

"As God has made us equal in the share of the most glorious benefits of the gospel, as having given us one gospel, one baptism, one hope, one glorious Redeemer, so he has thereby designed us to be the same in brotherly love. And as without joint prayer that brotherly love cannot be kept in proper vigor, let us endeavor to keep up that holy exercise.

"We poor pilgrims at Trichinopoly hope to be benefited by your hearty supplications. Brethren, pray for us. Salute the brethren in the Lord. Grace be with you! Have salt in yourselves, and peace with the salt!

"Cuddalore, March 30, 1770."

An extract from another letter relating to the Chris-

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tian Society referred to in the preceding, may properly follow it.

"That you are united in a brotherly manner, has rejoiced me very much. Such 'Collegia Biblica,' as we were used to call them, were the beginning of that extensive blessing in Germany.* Mr. Spener first instituted them, when he was chaplain at Dresden. Afterwards Mr. Francke, Mr. Anthony, and others, followed the good example of Mr. Spener at Leipzig, and from thence it became more fashionable. As you kindly desire my advice in this matter, I will freely offer it, knowing that friends receive every thing of that nature, though they have a right, nay are obliged, to prove every thing according to the infallible rule of holy Scripture. I could wish, that when, after reading the chapter of the Bible, you begin to expound it, every member might contribute something. In this manner you might all learn to prophesy. The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets, as you all know. Likewise in respect of the prayer, one might undertake it one Sunday, another the next, so your gift might become beneficial to all. I confess the joint prayer of my brethren has been highly edifying to me, and even them, when the person who prayed displeased himself. The reading of the sermon, likewise, should not always be by one. The world will also have less to censure. Yours is a brotherly society; none is greater, none less; all upon that noble ground of humility, and brotherly forbearance. And this divine humility will keep every member from censuring or gainsaying his brother. If humility and sincerity govern your society, you will have, I cheerfully hope, a great blessing. O that the Spirit from on high might come upon us all, that the barren might become fruitful, the weak strong, and the mourners rejoicing! Salute your dear brethren in the Lord, and let this plain epistle be read, if you please, by them. My heart and love are with you. Remember us in our desert, that here the waters of life may likewise flow.

"Trichinopoly, May 14, 1770."

* About the year 1686.

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"That our friend, Mr. —— improves in the knowledge of Christ, is a matter of great joy. Blessed be God, who raises up himself a seed in your place! May Jesus reign in all your hearts! The blessing of being united in the Lord is so great, that no angel's tongue can declare or explain it sufficiently. Stick, therefore, close to it. Small inadvertencies in a brother ought to be overlooked. I feel at present what it is to have and to lose a companion in the road to heaven. It is an invaluable treasure. In proportion as you grow united, edifying one another in all simplicity and brotherly love, you will experience an internal growth in faith, hope, joy, and strength. May the Lord Jesus be in the midst of your assembly, invigorating and strengthening you by his Spirit!

"Trichinopoly, July 16, 1770."

"Dr. Gordon goes to-day to Madras. I have given him six hundred star pagodas to deliver to Mr. F——, being the estate of Mrs. H—— and her orphans. Within ten days, he will be with you. As soon as he comes, you will kindly take care to get the money, and to make out a bond. Do you go on in your 'Collegio Biblico?' This evening I read before the soldiers, Acts xix. 'Have ye received the Holy Ghost?' Let us examine our hearts and lives frequently, and try whether we can humbly answer the question in the affirmative.

"May God pour out his Spirit upon us, so as to create in us a universal hatred of sin, a true and strong hunger and thirst after Jesus and his righteousness, together with a willingness to bear his cross!

"Salute all the brethren in the Lord. Grace be and remain with you!

"Trichinopoly, August 30, 1770."

Of the devotional service with the soldiers alluded to in the preceding extract, Swartz gives an interesting account in his journal, and in a letter to Dr. Knapp.

"When I return in the evening from my customary excursion among the heathen, I hold a prayer meeting with the English soldiers. This, God has graciously not left without a blessing. A chapter from the New Testament is read, some verses expounded, and the services

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concluded with some practical advice. Many attend this evening prayer, and twenty of them have united in devoting themselves sincerely to the Lord; and, to confirm their resolution, have received the holy sacrament. These, on Sundays, after public service, hold a special prayer-meeting, in which they encourage themselves by singing the evangelical hymns of the blessed Watts, and, in their own words, pour out their hearts before God. The mutual agreement among them is, that if any one lives in known sin, he is admonished, reproved, and, on failing to amend, is to be excluded from this special meeting. The gracious God direct his eye towards them, increase their number, and guide them by his Holy Spirit, to the glory of his name, and the edification of each other!"

The two following letters to Mr. Chambers, in the autumn of this year, beautifully illustrate the piety and humility of Swartz.

"My dear Friend,—Your kind letter I received several days ago, by Tasunaick, together with the piece of broadcloth. I thank you for your tender (I might almost say too tender) regard for me, poor sinner; I wish—nay, pray heartily, that *you* may always appear clothed with the righteousness of your divine Redeemer. Just now we considered, to our mutual edification, in our evening prayer, that excellent chapter, Rom. v. 'Being therefore justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ; rejoice in the hope of glory; rejoice even in tribulation.' What inestimable blessings are these! and all purchased by Christ, and given freely to all hungry and thirsty souls! O that we might open our mouths wide and be filled! As I read you once that passage in the garden, so I could not help reflecting on it; nay, I shall remember you as often as I read it. May the Spirit of God be poured out in our hearts, and may he display to us the inconceivable wonders of the grace of God towards us!

"Your boys are now, no doubt, with you. I hope and pray that they may be serviceable to you. Let me by-and-by hear of them. I forgot to mention the last time that I have sent my palanquin to Madras. Mr. Evers, the nabob's officer, borrowed it from me. You are welcome

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to it. As soon as you desire it, he is to let you have it. You may give him your palanquin. May the God of all grace strengthen you to do his will in all respects! My best wishes to all our friends. I remain your affectionate friend and fellow pilgrim.

"Trichinopoly, September 18, 1770."

"My dear Friend,—It is now a good while since I wrote a line. It was the evening when I had been reading at our meeting the 2d chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians. Now I have been reading the 2d chapter of the Revelations, and considered the first Epistle sent to the angel of Ephesus. How many things doth our Saviour approve of, which were conspicuous in the character of that bishop. Nevertheless, he had against him that he had left the first love. He still did many laudable things, but the principle from which they flowed was no more that pure and fervent love which formerly used to move and influence him. His heart became somewhat cold and indifferent, and he performed many things more from custom than love. I cannot say how that tender and mournful complaint moved me. It was as if Jesus stood before me, telling me, I have that against *thee*. My heart was quite melted down. Yes, no doubt, too many things, otherwise good in themselves, are done without that noble spirit of love. O that my heart might bleed for that unaccountable coldness with respect to the love I owe to my blessed Redeemer; I repent of it sincerely, though not so as I wish, remembering how great the fall is. But how cheering is the promise, which that beloved Redeemer gives to all those who overcome that coldness, and strive to be fervent in love. They shall 'eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God; they shall enjoy the sweet favor and love of God; they shall see and taste how good the Lord is.' May this inestimable promise keep up a fire of love in our breast! May we condemn all coldness and mere formality in religious exercises! I hope your heart is burning with the love of Christ, as the heart of the disciples in the road to Emmaus. Indeed, materials to kindle that fire in us are not wanting, provided we take care and be vigilant. Let us, then, mutually excite one another as long as we have opportunity; and let not the multiplicity of business damp that

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holy flame, which ought to be burning continually. My heart wishes you may be always a shining light! Amen! Be it so!"

It is impossible not to feel, in reading this exquisite letter, how true it is, that the best and holiest Christians are invariably the most humble. Few, perhaps, ever retained their first and earliest fervor of divine love in all its freshness and vigor, through a longer series of years than this admirable man. Yet with what tenderness and depth of feeling does he lament his deficiency and failure! Surely this is an example of genuine Christian affection, which ought powerfully to appeal to the hearts of many who must be conscious of far greater declensions in the love of Christ than any which he so pathetically deplores. May the reflection tend at once to humble and to animate us!

After the brief summary of his labors during this year, already noticed, Mr. Swartz gives a more detailed account of them during the last four months of it, in his journal.

On the 9th of October he left Trichinopoly on a visit to Tanjore. He was accompanied on this journey by the native catechist Sædtinaicken, who was born there. Having reached Klicotta, they conversed with a number of heathens, Mohammedans, and Romish Christians, on the important subject of the Creator of heaven and earth, and his Son Jesus Christ. "While engaged," Swartz observes, "in this conversation, a poor widow came and asked alms. They referred her to me; upon which I said, 'God has shown mercy to every one of us, and thus teaches us our duty to one another. You have sent this poor widow to me; be not, then, hard-hearted, but let us all contribute something, and gladden her heart.' But, alas! no one of them would give any thing." He alone relieved her. The next day he arrived at Tanjore, and accompanied his friend, captain Berg, who had met him on the way, to his house.

On Sunday the 14th he preached in the morning to the Tamul Christians, next to the Portuguese, and in the afternoon to a few Germans who were there, from Matt. xxii. 34, on the genuine love of God, evidenced by its fruits. "The day being cool," he says, "I went round the fort, the poor heathen collecting in numbers to hear the word

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of God. After conversing with them, a Mohammedan approached, and asked me, 'What was the difference between his religion and mine.' To which I replied, 'We both have a heavy burthen of sin to carry. You have none to remove it; but we have, in Jesus Christ, a powerful deliverer.'"

"On the 16th," he continues, "I repaired to the river, where, during this month, the brahmins assemble daily, and read the history of Ram to the numerous attending natives. On the way thither I met the rajah's arikar, whose duty it is to report to him every day whatever he sees extraordinary. 'Tell the king,' said I, 'that you saw *me*, and that I testify to great and small, that they should turn from dumb idols to the living God; and that from my heart I wish that the king would in this respect set his subjects a good example.' 'Good, good,' he replied, 'I will tell him.'

"The brahmins sat in rows by the river. As I approached, one said, 'Give something to the brahmins.' 'Well,' said I, 'first give me some useful instruction—teach me what relates to my welfare, and then I will give you something gladly.' Another said, 'This is our advice, that if you give money to the brahmins, you shall prosper.' 'Is that all?' I replied; 'do you know nothing more than that?' I then copiously unfolded the perfections of the great God, and our obligation to worship and serve him only, our ingratitude and disobedience, the one method of reconciliation with him, the holiness and happiness consequent upon cordially acquiescing in it. Many listened in silence. The brahmins afterwards strongly commended my doctrine, and the people testified their satisfaction.

"Farther on," he continues, "I sat down under a shady tree. The river was skirted with a border of verdant shrubs, and all looked fresh and green after the abundant rain. My heart was quite exhilarated by the view of God's lovely creation. Many heathens approached, one of whom said, 'What you were teaching yonder is right and good.' Upon this I declared to them the counsel of God, and testified to them that we must, in a short time, appear before the Judge of all mankind, to give an account of our conduct; and that they would rue it everlastingly, if they rejected the truth. A young man said, 'I will hear the truth.'

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"In the afternoon, I addressed the people at the entrance of the fort, where they surrounded and listened to me as long as I continued speaking. O that God would give them an obedient heart! On my return, a Mohammedan frankly said, 'The people talk of you very strangely, asserting that you come here to draw them over to your religion.' I replied, 'They say what is perfectly true. I wish I could persuade them all to turn to the living God.' 'So, then,' said he, 'you avow that to be your object?'"

It is remarkable that, though at the period of this conversation there was undoubtedly some risk in openly avowing, more particularly to a Mohammedan, the intention and the earnest wish to convert the natives to Christianity, so prudent a man as Swartz did not hesitate to make such a confession. It is at once a striking proof of the simplicity of his aim, and the strength of his faith, and of the general confidence which the integrity and excellence of his character had conciliated, that it was followed by no reproach, and by no attempt to interrupt or counteract his exertions.

On the 21st Swartz preached, as on the preceding Sunday, in Tamul and Portuguese, and afterwards addressed the Germans from Matthew ix. 1. In the evening he took his usual walk, accompanied by two Mohammedans, who said, "The people are fond of you." This led to a conversation respecting the grace of God, and the way in which the forgiveness of sin is to be obtained. The next day, having gone early to the river, among many of the natives who joined him one of them said, "It is our *fate* to be heathens, and a convenient season must first arrive before we can change our religion." "You speak," said he, "of blind fate, which you must yourself acknowledge to be evil, yet you reject a better dispensation, against your own knowledge and conviction. Can you suppose that the Almighty, to whom you will have to render an account, will accept this as an excuse? The time will come when you will regret having refused the means of salvation. It is the fear of men which keeps you in bondage." To the last observation they assented.

In the afternoon a large number assembled near the fort to hear him. One of them, a lively young man, said, "Show me God, that I may see him, and I will become

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your disciple." Mr. Swartz replied, "You speak like a sick man, who wishes to become well without taking medicine. There is a sure way revealed by God himself; follow it, and you *will* see him. This consists in self-abasement and poverty of spirit, in repentance, meekness, and humility, in hungering and thirsting after righteousness." He then asked the young man whether he would choose this way. He went away like another mentioned in the gospel, acknowledging that this way was too difficult.

The day following, Swartz met with a learned Hindoo, at one of the resting houses, who took him by the hand, and expressed great satisfaction in seeing him, promising at the same time to be obedient to the truth, should he be convinced of it. Several sentences in the Tamul language being visible on the wall, the Hindoo read them. The substance was nearly as follows.

"Our ancestors have been taught to observe many ceremonies, and have died. He will be the true priest who can confer immortality." "What say you to this," said the missionary? "Do you indeed desire true and happy immortality? If so, you may attain it." The Hindoo declared that the immortality he wished to possess, consisted in being exempt from pain, sickness, and death, and, whenever he was so inclined, (such was his expression,) in being able to make an excursion to the moon. "Your first care," rejoined Swartz, "should be this: how, as a poor, guilty sinner, you may be reconciled to God." "I know no sin," he exclaimed, "and wish for superior instruction from you." "Ah," said Swartz, "I perceive that you are full of conceit—the chief knowledge you want is self-knowledge."

On the 31st of October, he left Tanjore, and the next day arrived safely at Trichinopoly. On the 15th of November he visited the great mosque, and addressed the assembled Mohammedans on the true way of obtaining grace. Their legend respecting this mosque, is, that it contains the remains of a celebrated fakir named Natter, distinguished for his extraordinary miraculous powers displayed there about seven hundred years ago. It is frequented by the Mohammedans every afternoon, particularly on a Thursday, to worship God at the tomb of this pretended saint. One of the superintendents told

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Mr. Swartz, that "the annual income of this temple amounted to about two thousand rupees, a sum insufficient to support the numerous families residing in its vicinity; which," he added, "occasioned continual quarrels." Two Mohammedans, who spoke Persian very fluently, conversed with him, and greatly extolled the merit of good works. Swartz observed, "that the real foundation for the remission of sins was Christ's merit and satisfaction. I will not," said he, "detain you with long discussions, as you have just quoted the Persian proverb, 'He who disputes loses every time a drop of blood from his liver.' I will, therefore, simply state the truth as revealed to us in the gospel. We are sinners, and deserve the wrath of God. Consider his pure and holy nature. The more we think of God and ourselves, the more we must be convinced, that either we must suffer ourselves the punishment due to our sins, or that another person duly qualified must endure it in our stead. This person is no other than Jesus Christ. God has made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; accepting out of infinite compassion his atonement, which he has sufficiently demonstrated by his resurrection. He is now the foundation of all grace; so that unless you seek through him the forgiveness of your sins, the guilt will rest upon yourselves, and you must bear the punishment." Having then explained how the doctrines of repentance, faith, and godliness, all spring from this reconciliation with God through Christ, the eldest of the Mohammedans, who had listened in silence, at length said, "You have it one way, and we another;" but the other observed, "that Mohammed also taught, that Iman, or faith, lies at the foundation of good works."

In a letter to Dr. Knapp, dated Trichinopoly, January 22, 1771, in which he gives a sketch of his proceedings during the past year, Swartz thus speaks of himself and his catechists.

"By the grace of God I am fully determined implicitly to follow the Saviour, in whatever way it may please him to make use of my poor services.

"God has supported me and my native assistants in a very signal manner. The latter are perfectly well, and zealous in prosecuting the work of God. There are five;

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1st, Devanesen, (Theophilus,) a man of quiet, peaceable disposition; 2d, his son, Rayappen, who formerly had been my servant, but conducted himself with so much propriety, that I appointed him schoolmaster; 3d, Sædtinaicken, a man in his fiftieth year, of a very cheerful and happy temper, who has a peculiar gift in conversing with all kinds of people; 4th, Ignasimutta, thirty years of age, who is very anxious to make known Christ; and lastly, Dewasagayam, whom I lately engaged on account of his piety, and ability in teaching others. Each receives monthly two pagodas, which is little enough to support themselves and their families. They are a great comfort to me, and each of them possesses qualities which render him useful in his department. During the last year I had many papists and heathens under instruction. One of the assistants is then always present to teach the catechumens. The others I send to teach in the villages, which they do very willingly. In the afternoons one of them accompanies me in my walks to converse with the natives, and he addresses Christians and heathens in my presence. I have often been surprised at the great propriety with which they apply passages of the New Testament, to point out the superiority of Christian doctrine.

"In the English school I have forty children, who are taught by two pious soldiers, and I daily examine them myself for an hour. In the Malabar school, thirty children, of whom twenty-six receive a monthly gratuity of half a rupee. In the forenoon they are instructed in reading and Christian knowledge; in the afternoons they are taught netting, that they may be accustomed to some employment."

In mentioning his journey to Tanjore, in October of this year, Mr. Swartz informs Dr. Knapp, that the Roman Catholics appeared to be much excited by his visit, and requested him to hold a conference with their Padre on the doctrines of Christianity, in their presence. To this he willingly assented, laying down three excellent rules to be observed during the discussion, viz., that it should be conducted in the spirit of kindness and charity; that the appeal should be exclusively to the word of God; and that correct minutes of the arguments should be made in writing, so that the whole might be reviewed. When the

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day, however, appointed for the interview arrived, the Romish Padre, much to the displeasure of his people, declined making his appearance. Swartz contented himself with expounding to those who had assembled, several beautiful passages of Scripture, such as Matt. v. 1—10; John xiv. 6; 2 Cor. iv. 1; 1 Tim. iv. 6; Matt. ii. 28; and some of his hearers expressed their conviction, that if a missionary were settled at Tanjore, many would attach themselves to the truth. He concludes this letter, as he did one of nearly the same date to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, with an earnest wish for additional aid in his mission.

"The king," he says, "having once desired that I would settle at Tanjore, it might be well to make the attempt. Who knows whether the hand of God might not be with us, and many be relieved from their wretched state?

"Had I a colleague here, I might be absent for some months. But if any thing be done in Tanjore, a missionary must be constantly resident there. I have mentioned the subject to the honorable society. May God in his mercy for Christ's sake direct all things to the glory of his name!"

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CHAPTER IX.

Letter to Mr. Chambers at the commencement of the year 1771—The convert Nyánapracásam—Progress of the mission—Death of a pious English soldier—Residence at Trichinopoly—Letters to Mr. Chambers—Attack by the Nabob and the English on Tanjore—Peace restored—Swartz's allusion to these events—Violence of the Roman Catholics against Nyánapracásam—The conduct of Mr. Swartz upon this occasion—His preservation from an explosion of the powder magazine in the fort—His reflections on the event—Conversion of Sattianaden, and of a very aged man—Visit to Tanjore—Interview with the Rajah—Performs the marriage ceremony in the palace—Account of this, and of the Rajah—Letters to Mr. Chambers respecting one of his former servants, a convert to Christianity—Swartz declines an invitation from the Rajah for a political object.

The record of Mr. Swartz's proceedings during the year 1771, cannot be more appropriately commenced than by the following letter to Mr. Chambers.

"My dear Friend,—This is the first letter I write you this new year. O may Jesus be glorified in your precious soul, so as to be your wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption! We were reading and meditating this evening on Col. ii., wherein Jesus is set forth as our all—the sum, the centre, and fountain of all our bliss. Whatsoever we want we find in him; and are, as the apostle says, 'complete in him.' In him we are circumcised, by putting away the body of sin, which is the true spiritual circumcision; in him we are buried, by being baptized in his name; in him we are raised from the dead, by believing in him, and his divine resurrection; by him we are quickened with a true sense of the paternal favor

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of God, having our sins pardoned. If, then, we have all in our divine Redeemer, how just and comfortable is the conclusion, that we are not to look out for any happiness in the new moons, &c. Why should we run to the shadow, having and possessing the body? Why should we complain of want of comfort or strength, having Jesus? Let us stir up one another to a faithful adhering to the fountain of all our bliss. But let us receive him entirely as our all—love, serve, and glorify him as such by our whole life. Amen, be it so! May this year prove to us both, and to our friends, a year of blessing, and peace, and strength!"

During the whole of this year, with the exception of a few days, Swartz held preparatory catechetical lectures from eight till eleven o'clock, and observes in his journal, that many of the catechumens occasioned him much joy. Among those who attended his first preparation was the young Pandaram,* who had been so anxiously in pursuit of religious truth, and who had so ingenuously resolved on listening to his instructions. "To me and all the catechists," says Swartz, "he has been a real joy. His desire after the word of God, and his sincere love of prayer, as well as his kind and charitable disposition, have been clearly evinced. An officer who is sick, told me that he heard him pray every night about twelve o'clock for an hour together; a custom which in the simplicity of his mind he has since continued." This young man, who was of a good caste, received at his baptism the name of Nyánapracásam, (spiritual light,) and was added as a sixth to the number of the catechists.

This year the aged Schinappen, one of the first converts at Trichinopoly, by the ministry of Mr. Kohlhoff, had the gratification of seeing all his relatives, with their families, attend Swartz's preparation as catechumens. Many instances of conversion amongst the Roman Catholics and heathens occurred, the sincerity of which was strikingly proved by resistance to every species of allurement and persecution. "The increase in the congregation," he observes, "has been greater than in the preceding year, one hundred and forty persons in all having

* See page 133.

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been added to it. We have also remarked more of the work of God in the hearts of the catechumens, which has encouraged us cheerfully to persevere. The Lord strengthen us daily in faith, love, and hope, that we may go on from strength to strength, and zealously promote his work in humility of heart, and dependence on his blessing!"

Among the English soldiers, the blessing of God had been remarkably evident; and the little company of the sincerely pious and devoted, which had increased to thirty, were eminently useful both in visiting the sick, and in accrediting and adorning the profession of Christianity in the estimation of all around them. An interesting memorial of the death of one of those pious men is recorded in Swartz's journal. The first of them was an Englishman, who had during several years lived as a true Christian. "There was a manliness," he says, "in his whole deportment. The Gospel of Christ was precious to him, and produced a settled peace and holy courage in his heart. This year he became sick. His pious companions visited him diligently. His mind was perfectly composed, and he longed for the holy communion, which was administered to his edification. Some hours before his death, I visited him, and found him in a most happy frame. 'My sins,' said he, 'are forgiven me of God for Christ's sake; my heart has rest and peace; the enemy has no power over me. I look forward with complacency to a blessed eternity. I would not exchange with the king of England. O the poor world, that it could but reflect what a blessed thing Christianity is!' Then turning to me, he said, 'And I thank you, my friend, for having made Jesus Christ known to me.'

"At last he repeated several times that beautiful sentence, 'Into thy hands I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth!'"

His residence at Trichinopoly was, indeed, an interesting spot. Daily he assembled his catechists, who were not on stations too remote, and instructed them how to explain the truths of Christianity, and to address the natives in a mild and winning manner; "Trying," to adopt his own expressions, "whether they might not be so happy as to bring some of their wandering fellow creatures into the way of truth." In the morning, the

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catechists joined with him in prayer, and in meditating on the word of God; after which every one was directed whither to go that day. In the evening, they gave an account of their labors, and the day closed as it began, with meditation and prayer. During the day, many of the natives, of various ranks, came to visit and converse with him, as well as officers of the garrison, who esteemed his character, and courted his society. The widow of one of them,* who still survives, and at whose table Swartz was a welcome guest, bears the following pleasing testimony to him.

"No time can efface the remembrance of that remarkable man: more than half a century is since gone over my head; yet his features, his sweetness of temper, and kind and courteous manners, are still before me; his information was great and various, and whether he spoke of religion or of the world, it was delightful to listen to him."

The two following letters continue his pious and interesting correspondence with Mr. Chambers.

"My dear Friend,—I have received your kind letter, and praise God for all the blessings he bestows on you, and for all the assistance he vouchsafes you in difficult circumstances. This evening we were edifying ourselves with Rev. vii. wherein we read of the great number of those that were sealed, standing before the throne, clothed in white robes and palms in their hands. O may we always be found in the white robes of the innocence and righteousness of our blessed Redeemer, and may we in his strength be able to conquer all the temptations we find ourselves surrounded with every day! It is altogether cheering to consider that such vile and corrupted creatures as we are, shall be adorned in so splendid a manner, and that in the strength of our Saviour we, who are so frail, shall become conquerors. See how the angels and elders, and the four living creatures bless and praise God, ascribing to him all power, glory, and thanksgiving. Let us join with them, every day giving all glory to him! Amen, be it so!

"Concerning the boy Jacob, I can say so much, that

* General Horne.

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within a year and a half we have observed nothing of that childish or trifling behavior, so common amongst those people, (the Indo-Portuguese;) but then I must likewise confess, that I have not observed real Christianity. He attends religious exercises, but the power of godliness I cannot observe. I have often talked to him privately, laying before him the danger, and my apprehension, of his falling into the same vices with other Portuguese. But he has assured me that he hoped God would preserve him. This is all I can say of him. May the Spirit of Jesus draw his heart to a sincere conversion! I have not mentioned a syllable of your intention to him. Do now as God guides you. Be happy in him, who doth and will love you.

"Trichinopoly, May 11, 1771."

The next letter contains an animated exposition of St. Paul's* eloquent description of the Christian panoply; a passage of scripture peculiarly adapted to the situation of Christians like Swartz and his correspondent, amidst the strong holds of the prince of darkness.

"My dear Friend,—Though I have not written to you for some time, you are in my thoughts, I may say, every day. I wish and pray that you may 'be strong in the Lord and in the power of his might.' Without him we are nothing, and can do nothing. But being united to him and his Spirit, we shall be strong so as to gain the victory over all our enemies. This strength, which comes from our Lord, we need every day and hour, on account of our enemies. 'For we wrestle not against flesh and blood,' or weak men only, 'but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.' St. Paul describes the enemies, their power and malice, in a true, that is, terrible manner, not to frighten, but to rouse us to earnestness. Slothfulness will not do; a holy zeal is absolutely necessary in order to overcome such powerful and cunning enemies.

"Let us 'stand, therefore, having our loins girt about with truth.' The truth of the gospel, particularly con-

* Ephes. vi. 10—18.

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cerning the Author of our salvation, is like a girdle, that will keep close, and, as it were, unite our strength. As soon as we let go the truth we loose our girdle, and are like to dissipate our strength. But as the principal truth of the gospel concerneth the righteousness of Jesus Christ, let us, above all, take and put on that perfect righteousness as a 'breastplate,' which covers our breast, and sereens our conscience, so that no accusation or condemnation can reach and disturb it. And as the gospel contains and sets forth that glorious righteousness of Christ, let our 'feet be shod with the preparation of peace.' When our enemies deride our relying on the righteousness of Christ, and ask us from whence we have it, let us say, 'So it is written.' The gospel is our armory. And whereas our enemies not only seduce but likewise threaten; let us, in that case, take 'the shield of faith,' and trust in the providence of our heavenly Father. Our faith in the goodness, power, and veracity of God, is our shield, by which we keep off, nay, 'quench the fiery darts of the wicked.' The glorious promises, scattered up and down in the word of God, relating to his providence and his preservation of his children, and that all shall turn to their welfare, those pacify our hearts. Nay, and if we suffer here, let us look up to that great salvation, which shall be, in a short time, our lot; let us use it as a 'helmet on our head, that we may not faint.' And if our enemies will entangle and perplex us with their sophistical and knotty questions, let us take 'the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God,' and cut them all asunder. And lastly, in our cheerful confidence, let us never be proud, but maintain that most necessary poverty of spirit, 'praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit.' What divine arms are here offered to us! To know and consider them is good; but to put them on and use them, is infinitely better. The primitive Christians used those arms in a very manly manner. O that the Spirit of Jesus Christ would enable us to become true and faithful soldiers of our Lord! Let us entreat him to strengthen us daily and hourly, till the whole conflict is over; and we can say, 'It is finished; I have fought a good fight.'

"Salute all our friends, and particularly Mr. Toriano. I hope to write him a line next Monday.

"For the excellent eight handkerchiefs sent me by

Mr. O——, I thank you kindly; likewise for the book you have bought for that truly Christian soldier. He goes under the name of Bishop Powers. This man prays so well, walks so circumspectly, and preaches so effectually to his fellow soldiers, that I rejoice when I see him. He is now at the Coleroon, but he has heard of your kind present.

"As Colonel Flint has paid me one hundred star pagodas belonging to Captain H.'s widow and orphans, I have ventured to send them, in hope you will take them, as you have the other money.

"I should be obliged to you if you could send me a pair of green spectacles—my eyes seem to want some help.*

"Here all is full of rumor of war, and it seems they will march against Tanjore, as it likewise seems that the king is resolved to receive them. I am sorry—poor king—he may lose all! How wonderful is the way of God! He is the supreme governor. May divine grace, peace and strength attend you in all your ways!

"Trichinopoly, August 10, 1771."

The war to which Swartz alludes at the close of his letter, was occasioned by an attack which the rajah of Tanjore had made early in the year on the polygar of one of the Marawars. These being alleged to be dependencies of the Carnatic, the nabob appealed to the government of Madras as guarantees of the treaty between him and the rajah, and urged them to insist on the latter relinquishing his design against Marawar. The real object of the nabob was, doubtless, to embrace the opportunity of becoming possessed of Tanjore, to which, however, he had not the shadow of a claim, except in his own unjust and inordinate ambition. But as the history of such disputes forms no part of the purpose of these memoirs, it will be sufficient to observe, that the king of Tanjore refusing, or at least hesitating, to comply with the demands of the nabob, the English army, under General Smith, marched from Trichinopoly about the 12th of September, and on the 16th arrived before Wallam,† a fortress of

* An increasing affection of the eyes a few years afterwards rendered writing painful to him, and gradually abridged his correspondence.

† Or Vellum.—Mill's History of British India, vol. iv. p. 84.

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considerable strength, and one of the bulwarks of Tanjore. The battery was not ready till the morning of the 20th; but towards evening the garrison abandoned the fort. On the 23d the army again marched and encamped before Tanjore. The operations proceeded slowly, but a strong sally was successfully repulsed by the British troops, and on the 27th of October, when the engineers reported that a breach would be practicable the next morning, the nabob's eldest son, Omdut ul Omra, signed a treaty of peace with the rajah, and hostilities for the present ceased. It is to these events that Mr. Swartz refers in the following letter to Mr. Chambers.

"My dear Friend,—Your very agreeable letter I have received. Blessed be God for all his mercies bestowed upon us, in spiritual and temporal concerns. His ways are loving kindness and truth. Whatever he doth, he doth it to our welfare; and that according to his promises, to fulfil them, and convince us that he is faithful. So he establisheth a well-grounded faith in us in a practical method, which is far preferable to the speculative one. All his dealings with us tend to work or strengthen that divine principle of faith in us. Consider the Psalms in that view, and you will admire, as I hope you have done already, the glorious footsteps of divine Providence—Providence! a word often used, or rather abused, by an unthinking world, is sweet to all those who have an interest in the favor of God through Jesus Christ. David was a pious and attentive observer of the ways of God. Let us do the same; and we shall find much comfort and strength by so doing. Our poor friend Mr. ——! alas, I am truly sorry for his circumstances. I am loth to judge of him in a rash manner; and still I cannot help thinking, that had his heart been better grounded in humility, he might have been very serviceable to the cause of Christ, and avoided those things which have hurt him and others. Steadfastness is a noble quality, but unguided by knowledge and humility, it becomes rashness. May God be his guide and comfort in those dark circumstances! I could heartily wish he would converse again with his friends. Who knows how God might alter things?

"The Tanjore affairs begin to grow serious. There is a little fort near Tanjore, Wallam, which was battered

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yesterday.* We heard the report of the guns very plainly. What shall we say to these things? Your observation is very just; and I think, that if any one of our Christians had Christianity enough to take him† by the hand, he would, perhaps, have hearkened. But we want something else—Eheu! Let us observe even in this affair the footsteps of Providence; how things will end, and what will be the effects of them. For nothing, God would never have permitted it. Idolatry in the Tanjore country is very deeply rooted; and to overthrow it gradually, who knows but God may use the present affliction? We pray, and will pray, 'Thy kingdom come,' to us, to all, to Tanjore. Amen.

"P. S.—This letter I wrote yesterday. To-day we hear that Wallam is taken, or rather, evacuated by the Tanjourians."

"My dear Friend,—Your last favor of the 19th instant I have received. Concerning Mr. ——'s dismission, your and my final remark is almost the same. This will in all likelihood open his eyes to treat other people with more decency, even when he tells them nothing but the truth. I hope a wise God will bring some good out of that catastrophe. Whatever we do, let us do it with humility, and submit the whole to God, who can mend and rectify what is amiss. When I read the evangelists, particularly the speeches of our Saviour to his disciples towards the latter end of his ministry, I think they consist mostly of admonitions to *humility*. And when we consider how long God has borne with us, I think we should not soon lose patience when we endeavor to mend others. Yesterday we treated, in church, of Eph. iv. 1—6. To walk worthy of our vocation, or calling, how necessary! And in order to do so, humility is placed in the front. Meekness follows as a consequence, and forbearance. The example of God and of Christ is proposed to our imitation. O may the Spirit of Christ lead and strengthen us at all times!

"The Tanjore affair is almost every hour in my mind. The army lies now encamped before it; not far from Captain Berg's house. When I pray, I know not what

* This letter is without date. † Doubtless the king.

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to say. All I can say is, 'Thy will be done!' Who knows what God intends by this judgment, for the propagation of his kingdom! Farewell, my dear friend, and remember me before God, that to me may be given more grace, strength, and sincerity, in publishing the glad tidings of the salvation.

"At present we have here a philosopher* in the preparation. He finds the doctrine of Christians difficult, because he is void of humility. His wife is more teachable, and seems to be of a humble heart. He is of the merchant caste. His son-in-law has left him, which he bears tolerably; his wife better.

"Trichinopoly, Sept. 26, 1771."

"My dear Friend,—As I am sure you have prayed to God to bring the affair of the war to a happy end; so I think myself obliged and very happy in giving you the glad news of an accommodation, which has taken place. To-day every thing is to be settled. No doubt to-morrow we shall hear more of all the articles. Blessed be God! It would have been a bloody affair if the fort had been stormed. We have lost a great number of Europeans and sepoys; the Tanjourians likewise. How easily is human blood shed, and lives thrown away!

"By the mercy of God we stand and are preserved. By Him only; for if the enemy had power, he had swallowed us up long ago. Last Sunday happened a peculiar case to us. A young man who came to us with his father and mother, six months ago, grew in true wisdom; and besides showed a truly Christian spirit, almost above any of our catechists. The Roman Catholic people have tried to delude him by persuasion, bribes, and at last threatenings. All proving ineffectual, they fell twenty or more of them upon the young man last Sunday, and nearly killed him. For three hours the poor creature was senseless. I heard it at ten o'clock, but could not go to see him till twelve. I went with the doctor, and found him senseless; but after bleeding he

* In this and in several other letters, Mr. Swartz introduces the original Tamul words, with which his friend Mr. Chambers was perfectly familiar. Translations of them, by an eminent oriental scholar, are here inserted.

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came to himself. His chest is miserably hurt. The occasion was shortly this: one of the young man's near relations came from the country and fell sick. In his sickness he called for this young man, Nyánapracásam, who was reading to him and praying with him three days. In the course of Saturday night he died. Then came the papists to bury him; but seeing this young man, desired him to go away on account of his having received the Parreiar law. He replied, 'If your catechist comes and tells me so, I will go.' As soon as the catechist came, he struck the young man with his slippers, and then all fell on him, dragging him through the street. The heathens cried out, 'Will you murder the young man?' They are of their father the devil, and the pope. However, the young man praiseth God, and is not dismayed. He is still very sick—Pray for us.

"Trichinopoly, Oct. 22, 1771."

"My dear Friend,—At present being confined at home by some showers of rain, I take my pen to write you a line or two. By the upholding mercy of God, I and my assistants are tolerably well. The affair of the Romish people has given me some trouble; it has occasioned at least some loss of time. They applied to the nabob's son, who was glad to take the matter into his hands. I was quite resolved to drop the affair, after some admonitions to peace and quietness; but they threw themselves upon the nabob, who, as it appears, has squeezed them. They have not been afraid of threatening me with the worst things; but my security is in God my support. The padre sends presents to the general and all the head people. I have been quiet. It would have been folly in me to expect any thing from those who, in all respects, side with 'the beast.'

"Mr. Gericke has informed me of your kind present of a pair of spectacles, &c., which he will send by the first opportunity. Mr. Fabricius writes me that my salary of one hundred and twenty-five pagodas is payable on the 6th of December. I have desired him to pay it to you. My intention is to put into your hands two hundred and fifty pagodas; and, if agreeable to you, to take the accustomed interest, in order to maintain one catechist from it. Let me know whether you agree with my proposal.

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"Yesterday we treated of the day of judgment. O may our life be nothing but a preparation for that awful day! May we have that unspeakably joyful sentence, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom which has been prepared for you.' If Jesus is our friend, we have nothing to fear; for he it is that is appointed to be our judge. To his kind care and blessing I commend you and your concerns.

"Trichinopoly, Nov. 25, 1771."

The conduct of Swartz upon the occasion detailed in the preceding letter, which was so much calculated to excite his own indignation, as well as to discourage the native converts, affords a striking proof both of his Christian meekness and wisdom. His catechists were naturally anxious that he should prosecute the affair to the utmost; but he well knew how hopeless it was to expect justice in such a case from Mohammedans, and rightly judged, as experience afterwards proved, that the violence of the Papists would probably disgust not only their own adherents, but even the heathen themselves, and thus tend, as in the days of primitive persecution, 'to the furtherance of the gospel;' while the patient endurance of the cross would no less contribute to strengthen and animate his own followers. This truly wise and Christian view of the subject is evident in his next letter to Mr. Chambers, in which, after briefly, but emphatically noticing his incessant labors, he resumes, and beautifully concludes it.

"My dear Friend,—After a long silence, I take the pen to write you a line or two. I hope you are convinced that, though I am sparing in writing, I am not in remembering you. Hitherto my engagements have been so close one upon another, that I had almost *no time for private study, except the night time.*

"In my last I mentioned the proceedings of Madur ul Mulk,* concerning the abused Christians. It happened as I imagined. He began to inquire; but as he found the other party alone guilty, he desisted, and let them go. He promised afterwards to give me in writing that they

* One of the nabob's younger sons, who was his representative at Trichinopoly.

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should do so no more; but even that he has not kept. However, I am not very sorry. Our help cometh, and must come, from another quarter. If God be with us, who will be against us? Neither do I think that the blasphemies of the Papists will do us any harm. Even now is a family in the preparation, which was threatened to be turned out of their tribe; but the young man and his mother answered with a good deal of courage. Another before him argued the case with them with equal courage. I could relate many more things; but you know the nature of the kingdom of Christ. It was and is disliked and hated; and every one who desireth to be a genuine disciple of Jesus, must bear the cross: and by doing so, he never will be a loser. Blessed be God for his unspeakable mercy in revealing his divine will, and strengthening us to do it! Our condition here is much the same as I mentioned in my last. Amongst the officers is less desire to frequent divine service than when you were here. The cause is plain. O! they know not what belongs to their peace.

"May Jesus Christ and the blessings of the redemption become more and more precious to you; may you hence have peace and joy; may you, by him, grow in all Christian virtues!

"Trichinopoly, Feb. 1, 1772."

Within a fortnight after the date of the preceding letter, Swartz gratefully acknowledges his preservation from the effects of a lamentable event, which proved fatal to many around him. This was the explosion of the powder magazine in the fort, in the afternoon of the 14th of February. "By this calamity," he writes, "many Europeans were killed and wounded, and a much greater number of the natives. The whole street was covered with the massive stones, of which the magazine was constructed, with men prostrated beneath them. Besides the powder which exploded, a multitude of shells and cartridges descended like hail." The windows of his house were shattered, and several balls flew into the room next him; but amidst the surrounding danger, both he, his catechists, school-children, and members of his congregation, providentially escaped unhurt. It is to this that he refers in the following letter to Mr. Chambers.

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"My dear Friend,—By this time I suppose you are sufficiently informed of that divine judgment executed by a holy God on this sinful place. I will not, therefore, enlarge upon it, but bless God for his divine protection which he vouchsafed me, the children, and congregation. Human chastisements are trifles when compared with divine ones. Well may we stir up one another to fear God as well as to love him. So many hundred souls sent into eternity, without a moment's warning, with all their sins about them—how terrible! No doubt many were amongst those unhappy people, who dreamed of repenting to-morrow. May we be wise, and employ the present time to the best of purposes! May we never slumber, lest the bridegroom come at midnight, and find us sleeping. Blessed are those that wake, and keep their garments undefiled!

"This I write just before I go to Tanjore. Pray for me, and those that may hear the word of God. I wished Mr. Gericke might come here for some months; but that seems impracticable. 'The harvest truly is great, but the laborers few.' O that God would stir up many to come and help! We wait upon thee, O God. Let us not be put to confusion. The enemy is at present fierce. May God strengthen us! I remain yours, in the Lord.

"Trichinopoly, March 3, 1772."

At the commencement of this year, Mr. Swartz not only preached the gospel in Trichinopoly and the neighboring villages, but sent out his catechists, generally two together, to more distant places, where their labors were more than usually successful. Among the converts who were at this period added to his congregation, was a young man from the country, who, having been met by one of the catechists, was conducted to Swartz. He remained with him several days, heard his instructions in silence, and at length avowed his conviction of the falsehood of heathenism. He then desired to go into the country, and, after a few days, returned with his mother. He continued to attend diligently to reading and prayer, and, at his baptism, received the name of Sattianaden, Professor of the Truth. Many of his relations were much offended at his conversion; but he advanced steadily in Christian faith, accompanied the missionary and his assistants in

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their excursions, and manifested, upon various occasions, his humility, as well as his courage. In a short time, he was received as a catechist, "only," observes Swartz, with his usual judgment, "I never send him forth alone, but in company with an elder assistant, that if he should happen to be roughly treated, he may have some one to console him." Sattianaden proved, as it will hereafter be seen, a genuine aud valuable convert, and was distinguished during a long course of years for his useful and laborious services in the mission, to which he became thus early and happily attached.

Another instance of conversion, of a very interesting nature, occurred at this time, which is particularly mentioned in his journal for the year. It is that of a man, said to have been more than a hundred years old, who placed himself under instruction, and, considering his extreme age, comprehended well what he was taught, and prayed fervently. Not long afterwards, he was taken ill, when he earnestly entreated that he might not be allowed to die unbaptized; "for," said he, "I believe in Jesus Christ." He was accordingly baptized and received, and was named, at his own request, Rayappen, (Peter,) after one of the younger catechists, to whom he was much attached. During his illness, he desired to be read and prayed with diligently. "I visited him," says Swartz, "the day before his departure, when he said, 'Now, padre, I am going to the kingdom of blessedness; and when I am gone, see to it that my wife, who is ninety years of age, may at length follow me.' Soon afterwards he expired, and, as an old man of a hundred years, and a child of God of a few months, he received honorable and Christian burial. His aged wife is now under preparation, and has hitherto delighted us by her grave, devout, and quiet demeanor. She partakes of the spirit of those holy matrons of whom Paul and Peter wrote. She is now about to receive with us the holy communion. May the Lord bring in her children and relations also!"

Early in March, as intimated in his last letter to Mr. Chambers, Swartz proceeded to Tanjore, accompanied by three of his catechists. On the day after his arrival, the king, having heard that he had been explaining the doctrines of Christianity to his officers and servants in the palace, desired to hear him himself. He was accordingly

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conducted to a shady tree in the court before the king's apartment, who, before he was aware, approached him, holding a yellow umbrella. "At first," he says, "I did not recognize him, as he was very thin compared with his robust appearance when I saw him two years before. Having made a low salam to him, 'Padre,' he said, 'I wish to speak with you privately;' and led me to a detached court. We had been together only a few minutes, when the great brahmin, who might be called the court chaplain, joined us. The king prostrated himself to the ground, and afterwards stood before him, with folded hands, while the brahmin placed himself on an elevated seat. The rajah gave me a sign to address the brahmin, who also expressed his wish to hear the discourse which I had delivered in the palace the preceding day. I then directed him to the supreme Creator and Preserver of all things, and to the worship worthy of him, pointed out the folly of adoring images and departed men, urged the depravity of mankind, and exhibited the mercy of God in Christ, and the method of salvation by repentance and faith in the Saviour. The brahmin listened in silence, and I was desired to withdraw a little." Refreshments were afterwards brought; and while Swartz was partaking of them, the king asked him many questions respecting the nature of repentance; and particularly whether it were allowable to return to the sins which we professed to lament. The faithful missionary replied, that "true repentance consisted in a hatred of all sin, which was inconsistent with such a return." And to an inquiry as to what he thought of the sin of drunkenness, though he perceived its tendency, he took occasion, after the example of the great apostle, to "reason concerning temperance."

Notwithstanding his Christian boldness and fidelity, it is evident that Swartz had conciliated, in no common degree, the confidence of the rajah, and that he was anxious to see and hear him as often as his superstitious dread of offending the brahmins permitted. Intending to marry the daughter of Captain Berg to another European officer in his service, he desired that they might be previously examined and instructed in Christianity. At the end of a fortnight, the day for their marriage was fixed; and the king, having expressed his wish to be present at the ceremony, the bridal party met towards evening in the open

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air, in front of the female apartments in the palace. He was accompanied on this singular occasion by two of his catechists and a schoolmaster. In the following letter to Mr. Chambers, after mentioning the case of a promising catechumen, and his interviews with the rajah, he details the particulars of this marriage ceremony.

"My dear Friend,—Your kind letter I have received by Nalla Tambi, who has been with us seventeen or eighteen days, reading, hearing, and attending public and private prayers. He seems to be pleased with such exercises. Here he is as in a desert. He has no communication with men, except with the catechists, who teach him something daily out of the New Testament. May divine grace work in him a thorough change of heart; for without that, all other exercises would prove fruitless. I shall now soon see whether I stay here longer, or depart; consequently, whether Nalla Tambi will be baptized here or at Trichinopoly.

"Concerning affairs here, I am quite in the dark. The last time I was here, I saw the king four times, and spoke with him, more or less, of Christianity. But as soon as Manoziappa was put at the head of the government, the king was to be seen no more; because such intercourse was not proper! The king himself is very free, and speaks with one as a brother; but, unhappily, he is addicted to intoxicating drugs, and the love of women. These two things lessen his sense and authority. Were he to converse freely with Christians, I firmly believe he would be persuaded to be a Christian. He told me once, in reply to my entreaty that he would give up his heart to God, 'Alas! my padre, that is no easy matter!'

"I fancy you have heard that the king desired me to marry a couple in his palace, which I did. First we began with a hymn; then I prayed: after prayer, I preached a sermon in Malabar,* explained the duties of man and wife, and enforced them by Christian motives, warning against the opposite vices by all that is awful. The king and his first people stood round us, hearing with attention, and even making his remarks. His women

* Tamul.

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were before me, though concealed by a screen. All this displeased the devil.*

"We have been since preaching every where in and out of the Fort; to which purpose I brought three catechists from Trichinopoly. About ten days ago, I was talking to a number of people, when I was attacked by two servants of the king. Leaving me, they went into another street, where they found Rayappen (my former servant) and Nyánapracásam, (the young man who was abused by the Papists in Trichinopoly.) These two were reading the New Testament to many people, in which work they were attacked by those two servants of the king,† beaten, and deprived of their Testaments. Rayappen and Nyánapracásam have behaved like Christians, declaring to all the people present, that they were not ashamed to suffer for the sake of the truth. You see, then, that the word of God meets with the same treatment everywhere. May Jesus begin to open the eyes of the Gentiles, that they may come and receive the salvation which is prepared for them also!

"Now, my dear friend, pray heartily for us, and be strong in the Lord, that when he shall call you into another field, you may glorify him. Amen!

"Tanjore, May 20, 1772."

The preceding letter was written during the second visit of Swartz to Tanjore, in this year. He remained there, upon each occasion, a month, and, during the latter, he had the satisfaction of having his place supplied at Trichinopoly by Mr. Gerické, who, at the request of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, had proceeded thither from Cuddalore. On his return to Trichinopoly, he thus resumed his correspondence with Mr. Chambers.

"My dear Friend,—Nalla Tambi, your former servant, desireth to return, after he has been instructed and baptized. He has behaved, during the time of his being instructed, in such a manner as to give us hope that he will prove sincere. But as he has met with no temptations *in money affairs*, one cannot judge of it. May the knowledge of Jesus and of all his sufferings cleanse and

* The brahmins considered it a dangerous innovation.

† Swartz afterwards thought they might be disguised Papists.

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strengthen him against all temptations of that sort! The point you mentioned has been frequently inculcated upon him, and now nothing remains but to pray for him, that he may follow the guidance of the blessed Spirit. As Mr. Gericke will acquaint you with all that passed here, or at Tanjore, I will not repeat it. May God bless us, and all the earth fear him!

"Wishing you a true enjoyment of that inestimable peace of mind, purchased by Jesus, and applied by the Holy Ghost, I remain your sincere friend and brother.

"Trichinopoly, June 16, 1772."

"My dear Friend,—It is now above eight days since Nalla Tambi, (or, as he has chosen the name of, Pracásam,) went from this place to Negapatam. I suppose he is now with you. He has attended tolerably well; so that I am not without hopes of his good behavior. He desired me, before he was baptized, to entreat you to be his godfather. I told him that you would readily perform the duty of godfather, provided he would behave as a Christian. He is naturally passionate, but not malicious. The points you mentioned in your letter, I have endeavored to instil into his mind. May the Spirit of Jesus Christ stir him up daily to watch and pray! You know how to behave to such beginners; how to treat them with a *kind severity*. Though such people have a good will and intention, they must not expect that we should trust them immediately, much less *blindly*. I beseech the Father of mercy, to grant him a truly Christian spirit, 'to walk worthy of the vocation wherewith he is called.'

"Some weeks ago, I received the last sum of one hundred pagodas, that belong to Capt. Heyn's orphans. I have forwarded them to Madras, and desired Mr. Fabricius to offer them to you.

"Concerning my circumstances, I cannot say much about them. The worst is, whatever is done at Tanjore, transpireth immediately: and so their schemes prove abortive. I had wished you had been there. But, alas! there are wheels within wheels. The poor king desired sincerely peace; but his own people are treacherous creatures. For my part, I bewail their confusion, and entreat God to assist them, or rather to revive them.

"When I consider how many people heard the word of

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God, and what a prospect of a harvest there was in that place, I wish heartily some laborers could be sent there. But our duty is to be faithful in that which is committed to our care. I have at present eight* catechists, who are willing to glorify their Redeemer, according to that measure of grace which is given them. Let us daily join heartily in lifting up our hands and hearts to God from whom cometh all gift and blessing. May his kingdom come, even amongst the blind heathens. Amen!

"Wishing you all that is needful to you in your station, in order to enjoy peace yourself, and to glorify your Maker and Redeemer, I remain your sincere friend and servant.

"Trichinopoly, July 1, 1772."

What a beautiful illustration do the preceding letters afford of that union of zeal with judgment, and of hope respecting the sincerity of his converts, with that cautious reserve which his sagacity and experience, as to the natives of India, had taught him to be so necessary, which peculiarly distinguished the character of this eminent missionary! How anxious he is not to excite too sanguine expectations in the mind of his friend as to the conversion of his late servant, and how admirable his suggestion, to treat him with a *kind severity!* The wisdom of Swartz is equal to his piety and love. In his next letter to Mr. Chambers, he refers to a fresh call to Tanjore.

"My dear Friend,—To-day I received your kind favor just before I would catechise the children. In the time of catechisation I got a letter from Tanjore, in which I was invited to come, the rajah desiring to see me. The poor people will be afraid now lest they may share the fate of the Marawar† rajah. I shall, if God pleaseth, take a journey thither next Monday. O that they might consider in time what belongs to their peace, before it be too late! Now you may sharpen your fervor in prayer. Remember them and me before the throne of grace. But let none know any thing of this journey. The last time, the Cud-

* The eighth was named Abiseganaden, (Christian.)

† This is an allusion to the recent conquest of both the Marawar Polygars, by the nabob of the Carnatic.

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dalore people were very industrious to spread their conjectures, which is often prejudicial to the cause of God. May God bless all your study and prayer! When you can send a line it is very acceptable; but I desire it not at the expense of your precious time. The time is truly short! Happy if we spend it to the best of purposes. Wishing you a daily supply of divine grace and strength, I remain your sincere friend and servant.

"Trichinopoly, July 29, 1772."

The object of the king's invitation to Swartz at this time was, as he mentions in his journal, of a political nature. He perceived the storm which was approaching him on the part of the nabob of the Carnatic, and was desirous of employing the respected missionary as a mediator between him and the English in order to revive their drooping friendship. "Now," observes Swartz, "this in itself would not be sinful; but it is a dangerous matter to engage in such things with a people so prone to deceit; and this I distinctly avowed to them. The king said, '*Padre, I have confidence in you, because you are indifferent to money.*' But his officers did not wish me to be engaged in this affair, lest their own iniquity might be discovered. And thus it passed off; for which God be praised, as I had no occasion to declare fully my averseness to the employment."

Here again it is impossible not to admire the testimony borne by the friendly rajah to the known superiority of Swartz to the prevailing love of money, and the Christian integrity and prudence with which he guarded against every engagement which might in the remotest degree hinder or interfere with his one grand object of promoting the gospel in India.

In the month of October, he again visited Tanjore, and conversed with numbers of all ranks on the great truths of Christianity. Upon one occasion, however, he was forbidden by an inferior officer to preach so publicly without an order from the king; upon which he inquired, whether he had any authority to interrupt him in the peaceable exercise of his duty; and finding that he had not, he concluded that a brahmin who happened to be present had excited this temporary opposition.

On his return to Trichinopoly, he spent the rest of the

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year in his usual sacred occupations, in which the goodness of God permitted him to witness much that was hopeful, to the strengthening of his faith and the comfort of his heart in the midst of many discouragements and trials. He thus piously concludes his journal.

"With this I close, and praise the merciful God for his unmerited goodness to me and the eight assistants during the whole year. May He, according to the riches of his mercy, forgive us whereinsoever we have, either inwardly or outwardly, in act or omission, offended him; clothe us with the perfect righteousness of our Redeemer, anoint us with his Spirit, enlighten, strengthen, and bless us all, to the praise of his mercy. Amen!"

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CHAPTER X.

Mr. Swartz visits Tanjore—Places a Catechist at Vellum—Letters to Mr. Chambers, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Renewed hostilities against the Rajah of Tanjore—Capture of the Fort and City—Unfavorable effect on the ministry of Swartz—Two journies to Madras—Progress of the Mission at Trichinopoly—Death of Colonel Wood—Letters of Swartz to his children—Restoration of the Rajah of Tanjore—Arrival of a new Missionary—His death—Mr. Pohlé sent from Tranquebar to supply his place—Frequent visits of Swartz to Tanjore—Letter to Professor Freylinghausen—Rajah of Tanjore—At his request Swartz learns the Mahratta language—Translates his Tamul Dialogue for his use—Account of that tract—State of the Mission at the close of the year 1777.

EARLY in the ensuing year Mr. Swartz proceeded to Tanjore, and finding that an opportunity presented itself of preaching the gospel in the neighboring fort of Vellum, he determined on placing a catechist there, and occasionally visiting it himself. Of this additional station he informs Mr. Chambers in the following letter.

"My dear Friend,—It is now a long time since I have asked you how you did. The business which keeps you from writing oftener is the very same cause of my delaying it so long. But besides the friendly inclination of writing you a line or two, I was stirred up in a particular manner, by finding some of your papers in the bureau Colonel Wood gave me. As they may be useful, nay necessary to you, for aught I know, (for I have not perused them,) I resolved to send them to you.

"Another question which I would put to you is, whether you have received those books which you desired me to

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write for, and which was sent to your brother* at Oxford, as the late Dr. Knapp wrote me.

"Yesterday evening we were finishing a short cursory explanation of the Revelation of St. John, which some young Malabar people desired me to give them at morning and evening prayer. Glorious are the promises which Jesus has given to his church, in order to encourage them in their pilgrimage.

"*So far I wrote a fortnight ago.*

"After that I went to Vellum, from whence I returned yesterday. As some Malabar people seem willing to be instructed, I proposed to the gentlemen there to erect a small house wherein we might assemble in an orderly manner; which they agreed to, and collected fifty pagodas for that purpose. I intend to keep a catechist there, and to visit that place occasionally. As some families beyond the Coleroon came hither and were instructed, they desire to fix one catechist there. In a few days time I intend to go to that place in order to regulate matters as well as divine grace leads us.

"I had many things to write you, but my time being much confined, I must conclude. May you grow daily in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ! May the blessed Spirit of Christ glorify Jesus more and more in your heart! And O! may you be honored to be a glorious instrument in promoting the honor of God, and consequently the benefit of your fellow-creatures. This is the sincere wish of your affectionate friend and humble servant, C. F. SWARTZ.

"Trichinopoly, Jan. 20, 1773."

In a letter to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, dated from Tranquebar, Feb. 14, Swartz expresses his grateful sense of the divine goodness in preserving him and his fellow-laborers in health during the prevalence of an epidemic disease which had swept away above a thousand persons in a fortnight. He informs the Society of his visit to the natives beyond the Coleroon† mentioned

* Then a fellow of University College.

† About twenty miles from Trichinopoly.

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in the preceding letter to Mr. Chambers, and adds, that finding the greater part of the village inclined to embrace Christianity, he had left two catechists there, and ordered every thing for the building of a small church, promising to return to them shortly. From thence he went to Tranquebar to see his brethren the Danish missionaries, and to regulate some affairs relating to his congregation. He notices the increasing expenses of the mission, but expresses a humble hope that a merciful God will supply whatever might be needful—a hope which was not long afterwards realized by a donation of 200*l.* on the part of the members of the Society towards the support of Swartz and his catechists. He gratefully acknowledges the Society's present of Bibles, and common prayer books, which were most useful and acceptable to the English soldiers, and referring to the liberal offer of Archdeacon Congreve to defray the expense of translating into Tamul, and printing, Leslie's Short Method with the Deists, and Bishop Wilson's Instructions for the Indians,* he assures the Society of his intention of accomplishing that design on his return to Trichinopoly. In August he wrote as follows to Mr. Chambers.

"My dear Friend,—Though our correspondence has been much interrupted by your multiplicity of business, this has not diminished my regard for you. I remember you often, and wish that all your steps may be blessed, that you may enjoy a rich share of divine light, peace, strength, and consequently true happiness.

"Here all is in confusion. Poor Tanjore will, nay must, as they are pleased to say, fall. I am afraid Tanjore has filled the measure of its sins, and is given up. Certainly the poor rajah was blind and infatuated; otherwise he might have prevented the present misery that

* "The Knowledge and Practice of Christianity made easy to the Meanest Capacities, or An Essay towards an Instruction for the Indians; which will be of use to such Christians, as have not well considered the meaning of the religion they profess, or who profess to know God, but in works do deny him: in several short and plain dialogues. Together with directions and prayers for the heathen world, missionaries, catechumens, private persons, families;" &c. By Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man. The third edition of this work, printed in London, 1742, lies before us. The Essay was prepared at the instance of General Oglethorpe.—*Am. Ed.*

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comes upon him. In January I was there the last time. I warned them, and told them that in the present course they must perish. Manoziappa's son said; 'What can we do?' I answered, 'Turn to Him who can help you.' He said, 'Is it not the way of the world?' 'Well,' I said, 'the course of the world will undo you.' Within a short time it will be decided. As the church at Vellum is to be turned into an hospital, I shall go to try whether it may be prevented. May Jesus be with you, and your spirit.—Pray for us here.

"Trichinopoly, August 2, 1773."

The alarm respecting Tanjore expressed by Swartz in the preceding letter, was occasioned by the determination of the Madras government to assist the nabob of Arcot in the object which he had long had in view of dethroning the rajah, under the pretence of the non-payment of the tribute due to him from Tanjore, and possessing himself of his dominions. The army marched from Trichinopoly for this purpose on the 3d of August, and on the 6th encamped within a short distance of Tanjore. The poor rajah remonstrated against this unjust invasion, but in vain. The approaches were made, and the breaching batteries opened on the 14th of September. On the 16th a practicable breach was reported, and the next day at noon, while the garrison had retired for a little refreshment and repose, the English troops advanced to the assault and entered Tanjore with scarcely any resistance or loss. The rajah and his family were taken prisoners in the fort, and the nabob took possession of his treasure and his kingdom.

The effect of this change in the government of Tanjore was unfavorable to the influence of Swartz, and to the progress of his Christian labors in that quarter. The nabob and his sons, though personally civil, were unfriendly to the exertions of the able and zealous missionary; and the building in which divine service had been performed appears to have been destroyed during the suspension of the rajah's authority in Tanjore.

In the course of the succeeding year Mr. Swartz undertook a journey to Madras for the express purpose of obtaining from the nabob a spot of ground at Tanjore, on which to build a small church; but the grant was refused.

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Business having called him to Madras a second time, he repeated his application, but it was again civilly declined. On both these journies, he observes in a letter from Trichinopoly, dated January 21, 1775, addressed to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, he conversed freely with the natives, the generality of whom appeared to be more and more convinced of the divine origin of Christianity. "Many of the best families," he says, "would not hesitate to become Christians, could it be shown how they might maintain themselves. But the difficulties are now greater than when Tanjore and the Marawar country had their own princes and governments; many thousands of the inhabitants having quitted the country for want of food and employment. We go on, however, casting all our burden upon Him 'who careth for us,' and who can point out a thousand means of alleviating these distresses, and open the way for the reception of his word."

In the same letter, Swartz informs the Society, that two of his catechists were stationed at Vellum, for the instruction of the small congregation collected there: and that his own at Trichinopoly had received a large accession of members. Several of these, he acknowledged with his characteristic sincerity, had been actuated rather by the pressure of the famine which was then afflicting the country, than by a genuine desire of knowing the way of salvation. "As they insist, however, on being instructed," he adds, "I think it my duty to bestow on them all diligence, though the labor sometimes increases to a great degree, hoping that some at least may make a good use of my instructions; nor have I been disappointed in my expectations."

The benevolence which was so conspicuous in the character of Swartz, was particularly observable in his love to children, and in his endeavors to promote their moral and religious improvement. His schools for the instruction of the natives formed, as is well known, an important part in all his plans as a missionary; and in his intercourse with his European friends, his kindness towards the younger branches of their families was equally striking. Of this amiable feature in his character a very pleasing memorial remains in several letters written to the children

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of Colonel Wood,* who, on leaving Trichinopoly had been stationed at Madras. They are marked by the affectionate simplicity, the sound judgment, and the elevated, but sober and practical piety which pervade all his correspondence, and prove how eminently he partook of the spirit of his gracious and condescending Master, who said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of heaven." The first of these interesting letters is addressed to the eldest daughter, then only nine years of age, and is as follows:—

"It is a long time since I had it in my mind to send you a line, because I have known you from your infancy, and that for several years. It is, therefore, natural in me to wish you well, and particularly to desire the welfare of your immortal soul. I know, and am fully persuaded, that your dear mamma will do all that lies in her power to train you up in the paths of true Christian piety; still a well-meant admonition from an old friend may be acceptable. As God has made us reasonable creatures, our great care should be to adorn our understanding with useful knowledge. Now the word of God is particularly given us for that divine purpose of making us wise unto salvation. It teaches us in the best manner what God is, and what we are; and leads us unto Jesus Christ the blessed Saviour, who is able and willing to deliver us from our sins, and to make us beloved children of God.

"I hope that by the example and admonition of your kind mamma, you are desirous of improvement daily in that divine knowledge of Jesus Christ. Besides, we have a will to choose, or to reject something—as this our will is directed either for God and his glory, so we are obedient to him; is this will inclined towards the world and sinful things, so we prove disobedient. There was never a man upon earth whose will was so well directed, as the will of our Saviour. In the midst of his sufferings he said, 'Not my will, but thine, O Father in heaven, be done.' Now as a will, well directed and guided, is a sort of heaven

* Two of the daughters, one of whom was married to the late Rev. Basil Woodd, died early of decline. The son, who followed the profession of his gallant father, is now a lieutenant-general in the army, and still retains a pleasing remembrance of his venerable friend.

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upon earth; so, on the other hand, a stubborn, disobedient will is a sore affliction. Therefore I wish and entreat you, my dear N. to make God's will your own, saying from the heart, 'Not my will, but thine be done, O God.' And as we in our younger years do not know what is good for us, God has enjoined us to obey our parents. I make no doubt but a hint from your dear mamma will be as much as a command. Remember me to your dear brother, and my young friend, and to your two dear sisters. May the grace of God abound in and upon you. Amen!

"So prays your affectionate friend,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Trichinopoly, July 1, 1773."

The admonition of the pious missionary to acquiesce in the will of God came but too seasonably to his youthful correspondent, who was called about a twelvemonth afterwards to sustain the heavy loss of her father. Colonel Wood, who died in July, 1774, had requested Swartz to become a joint executor with Mr. Chambers, of his will, an office which he could not with propriety decline, considering his personal friendship for that excellent officer, and his obligations to him as a generous benefactor to his mission. The two next letters to his orphan daughter were written after his return from Madras, where he had consoled the family, and arranged as far as possible, the affairs of his deceased friend.

"Trichinopoly, Sept. 10, 1774.

"Your very agreeable letter I received with joy and thankfulness to God, for the divine grace which already has been given you; which, if you continue to implore your blessed Redeemer, and watch over yourself, will be augmented every day. Your dear mamma will show you an excellent admonition which God your Saviour has given you and us all. 'Give me, my son, (daughter,) thine heart, and let thine eyes observe my ways.' (Prov. xxiii. 26.) Yes, may your heart, all your desires and affections, be given to God, so as to love him above all, and fear him in a filial manner, and trust in him! His ways you must learn to observe, even with joy, gratitude, and obedience, though they should cross our ways; for his ways are good and highly beneficial, leading us to the

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place of eternal happiness. The ways of men are too often sinful, leading to destruction. Be, then, always observing the ways of your heavenly Father, and follow him in all. Obey your dear mamma; and look upon it as the greatest blessing, that God has given you such a guide. Love humility as your Saviour did, and let not your heart be deluded by the show of the world. Salute my young friend J., and tell him not to stay behind, but to be diligent in learning his book. Tell your dear sister B. not only to mind the things that belong to the body, but to mind, above all, the blessings of the soul; to pray heartily; to obey strictly all the orders of her dear mamma. And last, remember me to my dear P.; ask her whether she can say her A, B, C, and whether she loves prayer. Jesus be with, and in you all!"

"Trichinopoly, Dec. 20, 1774.

"Last month I received your most agreeable favor, which rejoiced me much. Blessed be the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has awakened your heart to a sense of the love of God, and of Jesus Christ. Believe me, this is the greatest treasure which a gracious God bestows on the poor children of Adam and Eve. The blessings which he bestoweth on our bodies are not to be despised; but as our soul is of an infinite value, the benefits which we receive from God in respect of our souls, are much more to be valued than those which belong to our bodies. Go on vigorously in the way of God. Learn to know him better, and what mercy he has bestowed on us in Jesus Christ. Pray heartily to him every day, not only with your dear mamma, but likewise by yourself. Endeavor by the grace of the Holy Spirit to do the will of God. All true Christianity is founded in humility. This true humility makes the Lord Jesus so precious in our hearts. This humility produces likewise all Christian dispositions towards our fellow-creatures. It makes us meek, patient, and compassionate towards all men. Above all, strive to subdue and conquer that most dangerous enemy, self-will. This self-will robs us of all comfort, and our fellow-Christians of a good example; besides, it hindereth the Holy Spirit to work in us a glorious resemblance to Jesus Christ. Always think and say, 'Thy will be done, O God!' Salute my dear J. in my name. The angels

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sang 'Glory be to God in the highest.' I hope he will glorify God through Jesus Christ. Tell B. that Jesus loveth all humble praying children, and that I wish she may always be loved by Jesus. Your youngest sister M. tell, that Jesus desireth the children to come unto him. I hope she cometh daily, folding her little hands and praising him who was born a little babe for us. All and every one, I hope, is obedient to your dear mamma, that the blessing which God has promised to obedient children may come and rest upon you!"

Simple as these letters are, and adapted to the capacities of children, they will not be deemed unworthy of being recorded, when the importance of such a talent for the instruction of the young on the part of a missionary, and the fine sense and solid excellence of the admonitions which they contain, are duly appreciated. The two following letters were addressed to his young friends in the prospect of their approaching departure from India, and their voyage to England.

"Trichinopoly, Jan. 16, 1775.

"Dear Children,—As the time is very near, when you, I suppose, will leave this country, I thought it my duty to write to you a short exhortation, which you are so willing to receive from me, your old friend. When you leave this country, I beseech you, take none of the sins which are so manifest here with you; beg of your Redeemer to forgive you all your sins, and to grant you the help of his Holy Spirit to love, fear, honor, and obey God. Learn the will of God, and practice it daily, as you have given us some pleasing ground to hope you do. As your age is not easily given to grief, make use of your innocent cheerfulness to gladden the heart of your mamma. You cannot please her better than by obedience, willingness to learn to pray, and fear God: endeavor to please her and your heavenly Father by all this; read every day your beloved Bible; pray heartily, and forget not to sing a song of praise to your Redeemer. Whenever your dear mamma forbids you a thing, be ready to obey. Never give way to any stubbornness; and as you know that God is highly pleased with humility, learn to be humble, entreating your Saviour to destroy all the seed of pride, and

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to clothe you with humility. May the blessing of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be with you. Amen!

"Remember me, and pray for me, that I may walk worthy of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that by my poor ministry many souls may truly be converted to our Lord Jesus Christ."

"Trichinopoly, Sept. 8, 1775.

"Having written a few lines to your dear mamma, I thought it proper to address you likewise. You may be sure I have thought on you very often, representing to my mind the comfort which you would afford to your dear mamma during the passage. In this obedient disposition I hope you will continue, nay, improve, as you advance in knowledge. You know, even in your tender years, how agreeable it is to God, and what a great blessing he has promised to obedient children. The fear of God, as a reverential regard to keep his commandments, and a holy care not to offend him, I hope, will preserve your tender hearts; and to strengthen this holy fear and love to God, I hope you pray often and devoutly. As you liked prayer in your tender years, I hope you will not neglect it as you advance in age. Let your Bible be your most beloved book. Read and consider how Jesus your Saviour lived, how he gave himself for us all, how he sits at the right hand of God to bless us, and to send his Holy Spirit into our hearts. But all this your dear mamma will explain to you more clearly. May God lead and guide you by his Holy Spirit, that your whole life may bring glory to God and comfort to your dear mamma and friends.

"My dear J. entreat particularly to be diligent in learning useful knowledge, and sincere. I hope to hear from him, and to learn how he has improved in those things which suit his age.

"Next January, the little J.* whom I educate, shall write him a letter; at present he begs to send his compliments. He is just now reading his Persian books, which he began to learn just after your departure. Farewell,

* This was the son of his friend, the excellent Mr. Kohlhoff, of Tranquebar, whom Swartz had adopted, and whom he was educating; who was afterwards his colleague and successor, at Tanjore, and still lives, the highly respected superior of that mission.

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beloved children! May the blessing of God be upon you at all times!"

The converts to Christianity in Trichinopoly and the neighboring villages, during the year 1775, were numerous, and, in general, able to give a satisfactory account of their faith. Among them, Swartz mentions a young man of high caste, who had deliberated more than three years, whether he would embrace the gospel. His relations opposed his conversion; but he followed the convictions of his own mind, and, having cultivated our language, was taken into the service of an English gentleman. His countrymen shunned and reviled him; which he bore with humility, yet without dejection; and, finding that they could not depress his spirits, they acknowledged the wrong they had done him, and even entreated him to read to them some passages of the New Testament. In the same letter, Swartz speaks of two families, near Trichinopoly, who had been converted, and whose patience, under the persecution which had followed from their heathen neighbors, combined with a degree of cheerful boldness in maintaining their Christian profession, had been productive of such happy effects, that a third family had been induced to embrace the truth; and he entertained the hope of shortly seeing the whole village converted to Christianity.

The deposition of the rajah of Tanjore, and the assumption of his country by the nabob of Arcot, having been the sole act of the Madras government, was, after a considerable interval, the subject of serious discussion in England. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the nabob, the voice of justice prevailed, and an order was sent out from the Court of Directors, to restore the rajah to his former authority. The president of Fort St. George was, in consequence, recalled; and, in April 1776, the restoration of Tuljajee, under certain conditions highly favorable to the British interests, was proclaimed at Tanjore. This event led to the renewed and more beneficial intercourse of Swartz with the rajah and his kingdom.

In the course of this year, professor Freylinghausen, of Halle, to whom the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had repeatedly applied without success, in-

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formed them that the Rev. J. J. Schoelkopf, of whom he wrote in strong terms of commendation, was on his way to London, to embark as a missionary to India. On the 29th of October, he was presented to the Society, and was addressed by the Rev. Mr. Bourdillon, in an eloquent charge, in Latin, in which he refers to the subject of this memoir, in language which proves the high estimation in which he was held in this country. "Neither," he observed, "do you engage in this career alone: for, independently of that divine assistance which will attend both your entrance upon it and your daily progress, you have the happiness of finding a wide and effectual door opened to you, and of being preceded by the illustrious example of Swartz, as a fellow-laborer; by whose unwearied diligence, admirable prudence, and incredible labors, the work of the gospel has, to the great joy, and gratulation to heaven, of this Society, within these few years, made no inconsiderable advances in Tanjore: whose footsteps, if you follow, not only as a friend and colleague, but as a most skilful leader, and imitate his faith, his zeal, his virtues, how will the solid experience of the one, the cheerful emulation of the other, and the united studies and labors of both, redound to the influence and efficacy of pure religion, and to the desired enlargement of the kingdom of Christ!"

Mr. Schoelkopf replied in Latin, in a manner which gave a very favorable impression of his talents and piety, and sailed immediately for India, but died soon after his arrival, to the great disappointment and concern of Swartz, who mentions, with genuine Christian feeling, this afflicting event in the following extract from a letter to professor Freylinghausen, dated September 25, 1777.

"Your letter, containing the agreeable intelligence of a missionary coming to my assistance, afforded me great satisfaction. This gentlemen arrived safely at Madras; but it pleased the Lord of life and death soon to call him to himself, by a pleurisy, which terminated his life in a few days. You may easily conceive how deeply this intelligence affected me. But the Lord is holy: just and true are all his ways. Our duty is to submit to his will. May he have mercy on us, and support the work in which we are engaged, for Christ's sake!"

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The next extract from this letter, affords another illustration of the wise and pious caution of Swartz, as to any interference in political matters.

"Respecting our situation at Tanjore, you will easily conceive the confusion into which we have been thrown by the late events at Madras.* Indeed, the arrest of the governor by his council, could not fail to have a great influence on the affairs of Tanjore. It being known that the king placed confidence in me, I received letters requesting me to persuade him to accede to certain propositions; but this I refused in a polite way, as a business which would interfere with the conscientious discharge of my sacred office. This is the cause of my not having conversed with the king for these six months past. It is with great regret I have to inform you, that he has lately given way to a luxurious and dissipated life; so that little hope can now be entertained respecting him. Yet, let us not forget, that God can do exceeding abundantly above all that we can ask or think."

How clearly does Swartz here intimate one of the most powerful causes which hindered the religious progress of the rajah; yet with what faith and charity does he express his feelings on this interesting point, both in this and in a succeeding letter; while, at the same time, what immediately follows, shows his anxiety to promote the improvement of the rajah in Christian knowledge, though at the expense of additional labor in acquiring another language.

"I learned," he continues, "at the request of the king, the Mahratta language,† into which I have translated a dialogue between a Christian and a heathen, composed by me in the Malabar (Tamul) tongue, at the express desire, and at the expense, of Archdeacon Congreve.‡ May God command his blessing according to the riches of his grace!

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* Alluding to the contest between the governor and the council, and the subsequent arrest of Lord Pigot.

† This is the language of the princes of Tanjore, as descended from the Mahratta conquerors; and to his acquisition of it, for the purposes of his mission, Mr. Swartz, doubtless, owed much of his subsequent influence in that court.

‡ Thus virtually fulfilling the object of the venerable Archdeacon's proposal, mentioned p. 170.

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The order and contents of this dialogue are as follow:—

1st. On the being and infinite majesty of God.

2d. On his glorious attributes.

3d. On creation and providence.

4th. On the overflowing goodness of God towards our first parents, in creating them good and happy.

5th. On their deplorable fall, and consequent great misery.

6th. On the unspeakable mercy of God, in promising, and sending in due time, a Saviour, to the fallen human race.

7th. On our Saviour's person, and what he has done for the redemption of mankind.

8th. The way appointed by God for receiving man into his favor again; namely, that of repentance, faith, and holiness.

9th. The means by which mankind may obtain strength for repentance; namely, prayer and the sacraments.

10th. On the unspeakable happiness of those who walk in the path of faith, ordained by God, and keep his commandments.

11th. Lastly, a Treatise, proving the truth of the Christian religion."

This dialogue, the admirable outline of which is thus detailed by its excellent author, is still highly valued, and extensively used in its original language on the coast of Coromandel.

"I regret," thus Swartz concludes this interesting letter, "that I cannot reside more constantly at Tanjore. I have scarcely found an entrance into the hearts of my hearers, when I must leave them again. You are well aware, that a few conversations will not suffice. Continual preaching is required, as well as frequent friendly converse, which will afford an opportunity of bringing to their consideration the various divine truths of the Scriptures. By relating to them the many remarkable events revealed in the Old and New Testaments, the foundation of heathenism is shaken, and Christianity appears in all her beauty. Many have observed, that when they first conversed with me, scarcely any thing struck them as deserving particular attention; and that they secretly thought how they might get rid of me, or confound me by their

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answers. But after hearing a more complete representation of the different facts and points of the Christian religion, they then saw the end in view, and the advantages to be obtained. God grant that we may put our hands with renewed zeal, vigor, and joy, to the great work of converting the heathen!"

The regret so frequently expressed by this great missionary, at his inability to reside more constantly at Tanjore, was happily relieved by the kindness of his Danish brethren at Tranquebar. On hearing of the death of Mr. Schoelkopf, they sent one of their own number, the Rev. Christian Pohlé, then recently arrived in India, to assist him; and on his earnest recommendation, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge received him as one of their missionaries at Trichinopoly, thus enabling Swartz to direct his more immediate attention to Tanjore. "Mr. Pohlé," he says, "has a clear head and a pious heart, with a great desire of doing good to the natives, and has made such proficiency in the Oriental languages, as to be able, in three months, to preach in the Malabar language."

This excellent missionary made himself master of the English as well as the Tamul language, so as to officiate with acceptance in both tongues, and soon took a very active part in the work both of the ministry and the schools.

In consequence of the assistance thus seasonably obtained, Mr. Swartz, during the year 1777, visited Tanjore four times. "In one of my journeys," he says, "I arrived at a large place, where the heathen were celebrating a feast. I was struck with the excessive crowd which I saw before me. I stood at some distance from them, but was soon surrounded by a great number of people, to whom I explained the glorious perfections of God, and remarked how they dishonored him by their idolatry. I told them at the same time, what infinite mercy God had shown to lost sinners, by sending them a Redeemer, and how they might become partakers of the benefits of redemption. All seemed pleased, and acknowledged their own folly, and the excellence of the Christian doctrine. I spoke till I was quite exhausted."

In his letter to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Swartz laments in this year the loss of the

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able and exemplary catechist, Rayappen. "His solid knowledge," he says, "of the Christian doctrine, his meek behavior towards all, his contented mind, and, more particularly, his love of Christ and humble zeal in preaching the word of God, were acknowledged both by Christians and heathens."

With respect to the natives in general, he observes, "that though many who were convinced of the truth and excellence of Christianity were restrained by worldly considerations from embracing it, the divine blessing rested on his endeavors, to the real conversion of some." "It is our duty," he adds, "to be faithful in the discharge of our office, without being too anxious as to the number of those who are benefited by our labors."

The following extract from a letter to professor Freylinghausen, dated Tanjore, Jan. 23, 1778, contains a brief, but interesting expression of his feelings in the review of the preceding year.

"Blessed be God for his abundant mercy, by which the missionary brethren and myself have been spared, supported, directed, and consoled! Who are we that He should have compassion on us from day to day? We are all well, although some of us begin to feel the effects of advanced age. The different congregations at Trichinopoly, Vellum, and Tanjore, are not only preserved, but have lately received an accession of fifty members. The schools are continued with good success; but it is with regret that I have to state, that the junior teacher of the English school has applied for leave to resign his place, as another more lucrative situation has been offered to him. The senior schoolmaster also wishes to leave us; he intends to turn merchant. They have by no means"—such is the pious reflection of the devoted missionary upon the secession of these useful fellow-laborers—"a due value for the welfare of immortal souls. As they see other people laboring for riches, and many succeeding in their schemes, they also become eager for their possession. O may the gracious Lord not leave us!

"The catechists are all out on different journeys to preach the gospel to Christians and heathens. From their reports, as well as from my own observations, it appears that the principal cause which prevents most heathens from embracing Christianity, is the fear of man.

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"Of the king of Tanjore, I cannot relate much good at present. Formerly the brahmins stood in his way; and now ———. But let us recollect, that all things are possible with God. He has ways and means of humbling the proud, and of opening prospects for the dissemination of the gospel. I have presented the king with a copy of the Treatise, which I composed at the desire of Archdeacon Congreve, which he received kindly; and it is said that he reads it. May God bless its perusal!"

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CHAPTER XI.

Tanjore, the future residence of Mr. Swartz—His Report of the Mission for the year 1778—Letters to friends—History of a young Hindoo convert—Major Stevens—Foundation of a Church at Tanjore—Mr. Swartz called by the Governor to Madras—His mission to Hyder Ali—Account of his journey to Seringapatam—Reception by Hyder—His Palace and Government—Swartz's occupations during his stay—His last interview with Hyder—His return to Madras—His disinterestedness, as to remuneration—He obtains a salary for Mr. Pohlé, and assistance towards building his Church at Tanjore—Reflections on his Embassy to Hyder.

From this period, Tanjore formed the chief residence of Swartz, though he occasionally visited Trichinopoly, and superintended the missionary proceedings at both places.

The territory of Tanjore was conquered from the reigning Hindoo prince, by Eckojee, a member of the Mahratta family, towards the close of the sixteenth century. Fertilized by the sacred waters of the Cavery, it is considered as holy land, and has always been a most favorite residence of the Hindoos. Its capital, bordering on the delta of the Coleroon and the Cavery, is wealthy and splendid, adorned with a pagoda, which eclipses in magnificence all other structures in the south of India; and exceeding, in the number of its sacred buildings and charitable institutions, all the neighboring provinces. Its soil is peculiarly rich and productive, and its inhabitants numerous and industrious. Having suffered but little from the Mohammedan invasion, the Hindoos of Tanjore preserved much of the original character of their religion, and cultivated the study of their sacred literature with ardor and success. Though inconsiderable, in point of extent, its comparative opulence and its local position rendered Tanjore, at that

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period the seat both of a political resident and of a British garrison, a place of great interest and importance. Such was the spot in which the future exertions of Swartz, for the diffusion of our holy religion, were to be conducted.

In communicating to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge his general report for the year 1778, he observes, that among the Hindoos at Trichinopoly and Tanjore, there were many thousands, even among the brahmins, who confessed that their idolatry was both vain and sinful. It was not unusual for them, when pressed by his arguments, to reply, "True—what can avail all our images and innumerable ceremonies! There is but one supreme Being, the maker and preserver of all!" "Hardly a day passes," he says, "in which brahmins do not visit my house at Tanjore, hear attentively what is addressed to them, frequently take up a book in which the doctrines of Christianity are explained, and praise it as a divine religion." But too generally their convictions ended with their applause. "A brahmin," he continues, "being asked what he would resolve upon, whether he intended to stifle his conviction, or to receive that divine doctrine, and to profess it, replied that he could not deny the impression he had received, and that he had sounded some of his acquaintance; but that they all insisted upon the task as too difficult and dangerous, on account of the great numbers of the professors of idolatry. Nothing, therefore, but fear keeps them, at present, from embracing the Christian religion; but it is to be hoped that this conviction will embolden them, one day or other, to shake off that inglorious servitude of sin and Satan. For my part," he adds, "I entertain a cheerful hope of seeing better days, and therefore rejoice in the present opportunity of preaching the salutary doctrine of Christ, frequently calling to my mind, that there is a time of sowing preceding that of reaping.

"At Trichinopoly, we begin and end the day with public prayer. At Tanjore, I have introduced the same custom. Very often, brahmins and others have been present, observing our reading the word of God, our singing and praying. I never discourage the heathen from being present at any of our acts of solemn worship." *

* An instance of the beneficial effect of this practice occurs in the next letter to Mr. Chambers.

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Early in this year, Swartz addressed the following affectionate and instructive letter to the children of his late friend, Colonel Wood.

"My dear young Friends,—I hoped to read a line from you this year; nay, from the letter of your dear mamma, I understood that you were kindly inclined to make me so happy; but perhaps the ship sailed before you had finished it. Well, I am fully satisfied with the good account your dear mamma sent me of your health and improvement in all useful knowledge; particularly I rejoiced at your filial obedience to your dear mamma. Truly this account was joyful, and a subject of thanksgiving to God. As you have begun so hopefully, I trust you will continue in that path which will not only rejoice the heart of your dear mamma, but, which is infinitely more, will be a joy to angels and their Lord. Oh, my dear friends, read daily the word of God, and let the meditation of it be your delight. By so doing, your understanding will be enlightened; the doctrine of your blessed Redeemer will be like food to your hearts; your affections will be fixed upon him who is the source of your blessing; your whole conduct will be conformable to the will of your best friend; and lastly, this daily meditation of Holy Scripture will guard and preserve you from the path of the wicked.

"Never read the word of God without prayer. Be sure, my dear friends, that the neglect of fervent prayer is the cause of so much iniquity in the world. Forget not how tenderly the blessed Redeemer has advised us to enter into our chambers, to shut the door, and to pray to our Father in secret. You know that he himself practised prayer, and so set us an example which it is our duty and happiness to follow.

"Wherever you are, watch lest evil conversation deprave your tender hearts. You know that we cannot trust our hearts; therefore be always upon your guard, and walk as in the presence of God.

"You see how plain I am to you, because I love you all, and wish to hear of your spiritual and temporal happiness. How happy should I be if I could be with you, and bend my knees with you before the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ! But that being very improbable, I hope to spend with you a blessed eternity.

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"Pray for me, my dear friends, that I may preach the gospel of my Saviour faithfully; that I may not labor in vain, but win immortal souls unto Christ; and that I may finish my course with joy, and enter into the joy of my Lord.

"Remember me respectfully to your kind governess. May divine grace guide her in instructing you! Farewell, my dear friends, and fulfil by your Christian behavior the wished-for joy of your affectionate friend and servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

It is difficult to conceive any thing more truly wise, Christian, and paternal, than the preceding letter, more perfectly illustrating the character of the excellent writer, or better adapted to impress the hearts and to promote the improvement of the young persons to whom it was addressed.

To Mr. Chambers, who had now removed to Calcutta, Swartz wrote in this year, as follows.

"My dear Friend,—You have truly put me to shame by your repeated kind favors, when I reflect on my neglect in answering. Pardon this neglect. I promise to mend in this, as I ought in all points of my duty.

"Hitherto a merciful God has preserved your unworthy friend, and bestowed on him innumerable benefits. Would to God I had made proper returns for all his unmerited kindness!

"The mournful story of your valuable servant* has much affected me and every one who has heard of it. Satan is 'a murderer from the beginning,' and his servants are too often, at least in their hearts, of the same hellish disposition. The conduct of that young man is a great comfort to you, and to us, in this melancholy affair. May God raise up many to be witnesses of his grace, and the divine effects which it produces in the hearts of all, who do not wilfully oppose it!

"The most agreeable account which I have heard a long time of the conversion of souls, is doubtless that which you so circumstantially described to me. I mean

* The particulars of this story do not appear. It seems probable that the enmity of some of the natives had proved fatal to a converted servant of Mr. Chambers.

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that happy couple, Mr. and Mrs. ———.* Tell them that as all angels and servants of God rejoice over a sinner that repenteth, so the devil and his servants murmur and blaspheme. O may our blessed Redeemer fill their hearts with 'joy and peace in believing,' that they may go on vigorously to the praise of their Saviour, to the encouragement of fellow Christians, and to the confusion of the devil!"

The narrative which follows, illustrates the beneficial effect of the practice already mentioned of permitting the natives to be present at the devotional exercises of the missionaries, as well as the difficulty attending their conversion to Christianity.

"Here I had a few days ago an example which pleased me very much, though attended with trouble. A young man of twenty-four years of the shraf caste resolved to visit us at our evening prayer—heard the word of God explained, joined in prayer, meditated what to do—came to a settled resolution to join the despised people of God. Not poverty, not quarrel, but a desire of being happy, inclined him. He was engaged to marry a young woman, the daughter of a rich man at Seringham. The day of their wedding was appointed. He told his mother that he would fain marry that girl, but not with idolatrous rites. The mother said, 'I wish I had killed you as soon as you were born,' &c. All this happened before his being baptized. The relations got him cunningly, and kept him a close prisoner; but he found an opportunity of making his escape, and came hither to Tanjore. His mother and others made a great noise, and came and begged I would not admit him. I replied, in the presence of brahmins and a number of people, that I never forced any body; but that I could not reject him, if he desired me to instruct him. Further, I said, 'Here he is; ask him whether he likes to go with you, or stay with us.' The young man said, 'Mother, and friends, if you can show me a better way to heaven, I will follow you—but I will not live any longer in idolatry.' I remained in my house; the young man went to the chattiram; his relations

* The friends here alluded to, continued, during many years, both in India and in England, to adorn and promote the religion of the gospel.

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followed him, and fairly carried him off to Vellum; but he again contrived to make his escape. After that, I instructed him daily, and baptized him. May Jesus triumph over all his enemies shortly!

"As to the rajah here, I thought to write to you as soon as I knew any thing with certainty. But I saw that this might detain me too long. I have not seen him since February. He has married more wives—lives a sensual life, and indulges much, as his people say, in drunkenness. He is surrounded with bad people. Nay, to say the plain truth, the behavior of many Europeans to him has disgusted him much. You know, my dear friend, that the generality of our people do not mind that which is Christ's.

"In Colonel Wood's affair, he has declared that not he but the nabob is obliged to pay the debt.

"Remember me to your kind brother. O how I esteem people who introduce justice into this desert. May your brother prosper! But you mention not a word of your mother. God bless you! I am your affectionate friend and servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Your blessed employment, how it rejoiceth me!—Blessed be God! Watch and pray, without ceasing."

His next letter to Mr. Chambers is strongly indicative of that simple, yet elevated, and devoted piety which so peculiarly distinguished Swartz. The individual to whom he so painfully refers,* had long been connected with the mission at Madras, but was now involved in pecuniary embarrassments arising from secular speculations and engagements, which obscured the lustre and impaired the efficacy of his previous exemplary labors. It is consoling to know that he was spared for several years after this period, and lived in some measure to redeem his character, and to prove the substantial excellence of his religious principles, and the validity of his Christian profession and

* The person here referred to is no doubt Mr. John Kiernander, the missionary about whom Carne, in his "Lives of Eminent Missionaries," has attempted to throw an air of sentimentalism. Kiernander's conduct was such, as entirely to disqualify him for the place which is given him with Eliot, and Swartz, and Hans Egede. —*Am. Ed.*

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hope. The allusion, however, to his case is preserved as a warning to those who may be engaged as missionaries, particularly in India, to avoid with the utmost caution, all worldly occupations and pursuits; while the kindness and forbearance exercised by Swartz upon this painful occasion may teach a lesson of charity to all, as to an offending and fallen brother.

"My dear Friend,—I arrived here at Madras yesterday; and as I heard that a vessel is to be despatched to-morrow for Bengal, I thought it my duty to write you a line or two. The occasion of my taking this journey is melancholy. Mr. ——, who has brought disgrace upon himself and us all, is dangerously ill. Some friends thought it necessary that I should try to get some information concerning certain points before he died. He is a little better, and as I have been dissuaded from entering upon that business, I shall say no more of it, except that his conduct has given me the most pungent pain. What shall I say? Let us watch and pray, lest we enter, fall, and sink into temptation. What is man when left to his own foolish devices!

"Your truly friendly letter has revived me in the midst of all my present anxieties. The contents of it are glad tidings out of Sion. Blessed be God!

"I rejoice that you have awakened in some degree Mr. ——.* O may you be a happy instrument of his thorough recovery! Your advice to him not to compose his own sermons till he be more perfect in the English language is prudent. Any thing of his own composition in his present condition would rather hinder edification. May he have so much good sense as to follow the advice of sincere friends!

"It is cheering to reflect on the externally devout behavior of the congregation. O may the Spirit of Jesus come on them like a rain, that the Bengal desert may become a fertile soil, and fruitful field of the Lord!

"That this time is a time of apostasy and blasphemy none can deny; but this must not discourage us from glorifying our God and Redeemer. No; 'tu contra audentior ito.' Who knows but God may bless us one

* A young missionary at Calcutta.

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way or other? And if, (which God forbid!) we should seem to spend our strength in vain; yet the work (and the fruit of it) is the Lord's.

"It is a most pleasing reflection to me, which has been much strengthened by the reading of your favor, that God is able to raise for himself servants to do his will, and to promote the glory of his name, though those who are most obliged to do it should turn faithless to their charge.

"May you be a burning and a shining light, like St. John —a light, full of divine knowledge—burning, and vigorous to live according to that knowledge; and lastly, shining, and diffusing that knowledge wherever you are!

"My poor prayer shall attend you, and your dear friends. Whenever I bow my knees before the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I shall often remember you, not only because you are my friend, but because you are a friend of my dear Master.

"Remember me kindly to Mr. and Mrs. ——, likewise the young lady that has dared to be unfashionable, so as to count all things but dross in comparison of the excellency of Jesus Christ our Lord. My prayer to God is, that they all may be fruitful branches ingrafted into the true vine, viz. Jesus Christ.

"And now, my dear friend, abide in him, so shall you become daily more fruitful, and your fruit shall remain sure; and, which above all is comfortable, your prayer will be acceptable before God, so that whatever you ask, the Father in heaven will grant, on account of Jesus, with whom you are united.

"Farewell, my dearest of all friends. Be strong, watch and pray. And may God prosper you! You shall hear from me soon again. I am constantly your affectionate friend and servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Major Stevens's quarters, June 25, 1778."

"My old friend Obeck salute in the Lord. You will pardon my writing so badly; but I was obliged to do it in the night. Major Stevens desires to be remembered to you."

Major Stevens, from whose quarters at Madras the preceding letter is dated, had been stationed at Tanjore, and

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was an intimate friend of Swartz. On the restoration of the rajah, the zeal of this brave and excellent officer for the interests of religion, induced him to erect at his own expense a temporary building in the large fort, in which Swartz officiated to the English garrison, and other Christians, native and European, in that place.

"We had lost our church in Tanjore," he observes in a letter to a friend, "after that fort had fallen into the hands of the nabob. He amused us with empty promises; but when we were quite at a loss where to assemble for divine service, my pious friend, Major Stevens, built us a fine mud wall church, which cost him upwards of an hundred star pagodas. But the congregation increasing rapidly, and a fresh covering with straw being requisite from time to time, we began in Jan. 1779 to think of building a spacious and permanent church. A subscription was set on foot, but the amount was shamefully insignificant. At Madras, about ten thousand pagodas were cheerfully contributed towards erecting a *playhouse*. But to build a *house of prayer*, people have no money. Major Stevens, who could have effectually promoted the subscription, and superintended the building, and who intended to return to Europe, and make a faithful representation of what might promote the true interest of the Honorable Company, and the welfare of this country, was killed on the 14th of October, 1778, before Pondicherry.

"General Munro, who knew, as well as every body, that Major Stevens and I lived together as brethren, condoled with me in the kindest manner, saying, 'You will not soon get a Stevens again; however, I request you will consider me as your friend.' Although we are bid not to place our reliance upon men, and although their promises are seldom any thing more than compliments; yet I praise the Lord, whenever he makes any one's heart willing to further the work of God, even in the smallest degree. At a visit which General Munro and I paid the rajah, the general observed, that Christianity is far to be preferred to Paganism. 'I am convinced,' said the rajah, 'that the Christian religion is an hundred thousand times better than idolatry.'—But the conduct of the Europeans makes a bad impression on his mind.

"In full reliance on the help of God, I set about the building of the church in the little Fort. On the 10th of

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March, 1779, the general laid the foundation stone, nine feet deep; and the garrison being assembled, I preached a short sermon from the sixty-seventh Psalm.

"As I had rendered the general some little service, by translating the letter which the Court of Directors had written to the king, by performing the duty of a chaplain in camp, for a short time, and otherwise, I was informed that he had requested government to make me a present for my trouble. Instantly, when I heard it, I wrote to Madras, declining any present for myself; but if they would do me a favor, I requested that they would make a present of bricks and lime, of which the company had here a quantity in store, towards building of this church, as we had not even money enough to pay the laborers, much less to purchase materials. The general, who went to Madras, promised to support and promote my request."

It was some time before Mr. Swartz heard any thing further upon the subject; but at length he received a letter from the general, desiring him to repair without delay to Madras, as the governor, Sir Thomas Rumbold, had something of importance to communicate to him. On his arrival at the presidency he was assured that his request respecting the church should be granted; and was informed of the purpose for which he had been summoned. This was no other than to undertake a confidential mission to Hyder Ali at Seringapatam, to endeavor to ascertain his actual disposition with respect to the English, and to assure him of the pacific intentions of the Madras government.

Of this remarkable embassy Swartz gave a brief account in his annual report to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; but as his conduct throughout this delicate and difficult undertaking was equally honorable to his ability and his character, it deserves the more detailed narrative which he transmitted to his friends in Germany,* and which contains many curious and important particulars both of his journey and of his intercourse with the very remarkable personage to whom he was sent. His description of Seringapatam and of the government of Hyder, at a period when he was at once the terror and the scourge of the British possessions in India, will still

* Missionary Correspondence.

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be read with interest; though his name, and that of his son, like those of greater conquerors, have ceased to excite either admiration or alarm.

It has been already observed, that upon more than one occasion Mr. Swartz had been solicited to act as the medium of communication between the English government and some of the native princes of Hindostan. This is by no means extraordinary. His remarkable sagacity and penetration, his familiar acquaintance with the native languages, his extensive information and experience, his calm temper and perfect self-possession, his open countenance, and simple, ingenuous manners, and above all, his known disinterestedness and incorruptible integrity, peculiarly qualified him for such services.

But these, like all his other talents and acquirements, were directed and controlled by the purest Christian principles, and rendered subservient to the honor of his divine Lord and Master; nor does he, upon this or any other occasion, appear for a moment to have forgotten his one great character as a Christian missionary.

On being introduced to Sir Thomas Rumbold, for the purpose of receiving his instructions for the commission with which he was about to be intrusted, "the governor," says Swartz, "addressed me nearly as follows:"—

"'There is reason to believe that Hyder Ali Cawn meditates warlike designs; he has in some letters expressed his displeasure, and even speaks in a menacing tone. We wish to discover his sentiments in this weighty affair with certainty, and think you are the fittest person for this purpose. You will oblige us if you will make a journey thither, sound Hyder Ali, and assure him that we entertain peaceable thoughts.

"'The reason why we have fixed upon you, is, because you understand the Hindostanee, consequently need no interpreter in your conferences. We are convinced that you will act disinterestedly, and will not allow any one to bribe you. You can travel privately through the country, without external pomp and parade, and thus the whole journey will remain a secret (which is of great importance to us) until you reach Hyder Naik himself. You will have nothing to do, but to refer Hyder to his own letters, and to answer some dubious circumstances; and if you perceive him to be peaceably disposed, inform him that some prin-

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cipal members of council will come to him to settle the business finally. As the intention of the journey is good and Christian, namely, to prevent the effusion of human blood, and to preserve this country in peace, this commission militates not against, but highly becomes, your sacred office; and therefore we hope you will accept it.' "

This unexpected proposal, as may be readily imagined, surprised and perplexed the good missionary. "I requested time," he says, "for reflection, intending to lay the case in retirement before God. It immediately occurred to me that it was in more than one respect an undertaking of danger."—It was, indeed, truly such, both from the nature of the country through which he was to pass, and from the fierce and perfidious character of the despotic chief whose territories he was about to enter.

"Having implored wisdom from above, I thought it," he continues, "my duty not to decline the proposal. The grounds which determined me, were,

"1st. Because the mission to Hyder was not attended with any political intrigues. To preserve the blessings of peace was the only aim I had in view, and at that time I really believed Sir Thomas's intentions to be upright and peaceable. I considered, that if God, according to the riches of his mercy, would vouchsafe to employ me as an instrument to establish the happiness of British India, I durst not withdraw myself, nor shrink back on account of the danger of the undertaking, of which I was fully aware; but I ventured upon it in firm reliance upon God and his fatherly protection.

"2d. Because this would enable me to announce the gospel of God my Saviour in many parts, where it had never been known before. And,

"3d. As the Honorable Company and the government had shown me repeated kindness, I conceived that by this journey I might give them some marks of my gratitude.

"But at the same time I resolved to keep my hands undefiled from any presents, by which determination the Lord enabled me to abide; so that I have not accepted a single farthing, save my travelling expenses.

"These," he adds, "having been given me, I returned to Tanjore, where I left directions with the native

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teachers, how they were to act during my absence, and to Trichinopoly, where I preached to the Europeans and natives in the absence of the Rev. Mr. Pohlé, who was on a tour to Palamcotta."

On the 1st of July, 1779, he set out from Trichinopoly on his important and honorable mission, accompanied by his able catechist, Sattianaden. He stopped the first night at Curuttaley, a beautiful place near the Cavery, the aqueduct from which irrigating the low south lands, enabled the nabob to reap the fields thrice every year as far as Trichinopoly. The catechist here read to the inhabitants, and many attending brahmins, from the Tamul dialogues between a Christian and a heathen. On the 6th they halted at Cattaley, and conversed with many of the natives on the salvation of the gospel; in the evening they arrived at Caroor, the frontier fort of Hyder, about forty English miles from Trichinopoly.

Here he found the son of a Dutch gentleman at Colombo, with whom he had once resided for several months, and who had shown him much kindness. This young man had been most liberally established in Ceylon by his father; but being offended by the refusal of some trifling request, he went in disgust to Negapatam, involved himself in hazardous speculations, was obliged to withdraw from Madras, where he next resided, and at length entered into the service of Hyder Ali, raised recruits for him, and incurred debts, in the hope that he would pay for them. Hyder allowed him a salary; but deducted more than one-half monthly, for the purpose of liquidating his debts. Here he passed his life in sorrow, sighing over his folly, yet not thoroughly disposed to renounce it. Hence he engaged in new speculations, which only added to his perplexities. "How many," observes Swartz, "have I known, who, from determined self-will, have lost their prosperity, their lives, nay, too often, it is to be feared, their eternal salvation! O how should parents and teachers endeavor to inculcate on those intrusted to them, humility, and the subjugation of their own will!"

At Caroor he remained a month, having to write to Hyder for permission to advance, and to await his answer. During this interval, which to many would have proved tedious and uninteresting, Swartz found full and most useful occupation. With his young friend from

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Ceylon, and his family, he performed divine service. Some of his servants he instructed, and baptized. In the place itself, he and Sattianaden proclaimed the majesty of God, the deep corruption of man, the mighty Saviour, and the nature and necessity of repentance and faith in him. Upon these occasions, the street was often quite filled. Many listened attentively. A brahmin said, "This is deep wisdom." A young man replied to his exhortation, "Look at the water in the river: will it assume another color? As little shall we change." Some objected, that it was repugnant to them to receive the Christian doctrine, though they acknowledged it to be good, from Europeans. Were it preached by brahmins, it would be more acceptable.

On the 6th of August, Swartz and his catechist left Caroor, teaching and conversing with heathens and Roman Christians by the way. On the 8th, being Sunday, they staid at Curremudi, where he was joined by his friend and his family from Caroor. He preached to them from the 19th of St. Luke. "We were on the banks," he says, "of the river Cavery, where beautiful trees render the scene very delightful. We had a long discourse with a pandaram, on the principal subjects of religion. When he heard of the resurrection, he said, 'What is this? Can the body rise again?'"

The next day they came to Errode, where they observed the vestiges of the English army, which had some years since encamped there, and captured the fort. In the afternoon, they arrived at Bovany. "This," says Swartz, "is an island formed by the Cavery, and highly venerated by the Hindoos. As we were to halt here for some time, I visited the inhabitants, inspected the pagoda, and the lovely spots near the river, where the brahmins are accustomed to assemble. The streams flowing on each side, and the lofty and branching trees, refresh the eye and the spirits much more than in Europe. Several brahmins pressed me to visit them, when I set before them the doctrine of Christ, and earnestly admonished and exhorted them. Apparently, they approved all; but there it rested. 'We have already heard of you, said one; how you have declared the true law at Caroor.'"

On the 14th, they reached Sattimungulum, after trav-

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elling for more than a day at the foot of the mountains. The fort stands on a high rock, opposite to which is a pagoda, from which Colonel Wood bombarded and captured it without much trouble. The marks of the shot were distinctly visible. Being Sunday, divine service was performed with his friends from Caroor, and Swartz preached from Luke xviii.

Three days afterwards, the party arrived at Guzzulhatty, close to the pass. The heat was intense, and formidable mountains were before them. "Early on the 18th," he writes, "we set forth, not without fear, and prayer to God, for his fatherly protection. A multitude of people accompanied us. Many carried a piece of wood, which they lighted, not only to render the path more discernible, but to deter the tigers. The mountain is ascended gradually. In many places, it is steep. If one looks down into the abyss, the head becomes quite giddy. The path is frequently narrow; so that if you slip, it is all over with you. But the trees, which grow on all sides, conceal the danger. When we had mounted about half way up the hill, the sun rose, and we beheld the numerous heights and depths with astonishment, and admiration of God. The eye cannot satiate itself with gazing; so that the dread of tigers is forgotten. Often we had a summit on our left, and a fearful abyss on our right. We directed the people around us to the majesty, the might, and the inconceivable greatness of God. The heights and declivities which weary the traveller, are his work; and He has created them that they may proclaim his glory. But wretched man looks off from these wonders, and makes to himself worthless images, and says, Ye are our gods!

"About nine o'clock, we had surmounted the pass, and its seven lofty ridges. We expected that we should now have to descend; but it was a plain before us, and we perceived, with surprise, that the Mysore country is a full English mile higher than the Carnatic. During the whole way, the people saw but one small tiger, though there are thousands of them in these mountains. Having reached a village, we began to rest ourselves, when a thunder-storm came on, one clap of which was so loud, that the whole mountain seemed to be shaken in pieces.

"On the 19th, we proceeded, and had another hill to

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climb; fearful, on account of the tigers, but not to be compared, in elevation, with the first. There was a tolerably spacious choultry; and, on entering into conversation with the people, a brahmin said, 'No man lives so holy. Only let money be offered to any one, and all his good resolutions vanish!'"—an observation which, however but too true of the generality of mankind, and particularly of the Hindoos, was most remarkably refuted by the pure and perfect disinterestedness of the admirable person to whom it was addressed.

The following day, the party came to Arryacottah, where Swartz conversed in Hindostanee with the brahmins on religious topics. The chief brahmin, however, sent and called him away, fearing that Hyder might hear of it, and think that they were conferring on political subjects. "Hyder," he added, "is quite unconcerned as to religion. He has none himself, and leaves every one else to his choice." The observation was perfectly true, and affords a striking contrast to the despotic government of this successful adventurer in every other respect, and to the relentless bigotry of his son.

"On the 22d of August," continues Swartz, "being Sunday, we halted at Madenemuley, a pleasant little town. I first held divine service by the river, under the green trees. We meditated on the gospel for the day, respecting the deaf and dumb, and besought God to compassionate us, and this benighted land.

"The country was very delightful, verdant, and well planted with trees. The air was fresh, and the nights rather cold; so that a covering was quite needful. A scarcity of rain having for some time prevailed, the poor heathen imagined, that if the brahmins would only submit to certain painful ceremonies, God would soon send them rain; since they supposed that he was pleased with such austerities. One of those who was present, exclaimed, 'Our religion is a complete system of fraud!'

"Over the river which flows by this place, is a bridge, of twenty-three arches; and, after rain, the superintendent is required to send people to repair it, wherever any earth is washed away from its sides. It is Hyder's economical regulation," observes Swartz, "to repair every thing immediately; by which means, all is maintained in good condition, and much expense is saved.

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Among the Europeans in the Carnatic, all is suffered to go to ruin."*

"On the 24th of August," he continues, "we arrived at the fort of Mysore, from which the country takes its name, and observed, with delight, the beauty of the surrounding scenery. A high hill, on which a pagoda is built, was formerly dangerous to travellers. The Pagan mountaineers imagining that their deities took peculiar pleasure in the offering of a human nose, frequently rushed out upon travellers, cut off their noses, and offered them to their idols. Hyder has, however, strictly forbidden this cruel practice; so that travellers may now proceed on their way in safety. From this eminence, we had a distinct, but distant, view of Seringapatam, which we reached the next day. We crossed the river, over a bridge, which, together with the strong columns on which it is constructed, is built entirely of stone. On the other side of the fortress, there is another arm of the river; so that Seringapatam is an island. From the point at which the river divides into these two branches, the fortifications commence.

"I had a tent pitched on the glacis, as I found it too close and sultry in the fort itself; and an epidemic fever raged within; but I had, at all times, full liberty to enter. The fortifications have a grand appearance; but Europeans think that the works are not strong. I am not able, and do not wish, to pronounce an opinion on them. The rampart round the walls is not broad. Many of the houses are of two stories; and some of the ancient buildings are of hewn stone, with lofty and massive columns.

"The palace of Hyder Ali, built by himself, is very beautiful, according to the style of eastern architecture. It is entirely of hewn stone, with numerous pillars. At the extremity of the pagoda stands the ancient palace of the kings of Mysore. The former possessor of the throne, to whom Hyder allows an annual income, still inhabits it. He has his servants, but is treated as a prisoner of state. Hyder himself sometimes visits him, and stands in his presence as a servant. Thus men of the world can dissemble. The king's sons are all dead; and the general opinion is, that they were secretly despatched.

* This, it must be remembered, was written more than fifty years since. Such mismanagement does not now exist.

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"Opposite to the palace, is a large square, on two sides of which are open buildings, in which the military and civil servants of Hyder have their appointed stations for conducting public business. He can overlook them from his balcony; and, as they are required, at appointed hours, to be in the places assigned them, to receive the reports of the country and army, whoever has business to transact, knows where to find them. Here reigns no pomp; but the utmost regularity and despatch.

"Though Hyder sometimes rewards his servants, the main spring of action here is terror. Every one performs his part from a motive of fear, well knowing the consequences of any neglect of duty. Persons of the highest, as well as of the meanest, condition, are punished with the same instrument. The tyrant keeps two hundred men, with whips in constant readiness; and no day passes, without many being chastised. The governor of a whole district is whipped in the same manner as the meanest groom. Hyder treats them all alike. Even his two sons, and his son-in-law, are liable to the same cruel usage. When any one of his highest officers has been thus publicly flogged, he does not allow him to resign his employment, but compels him to retain it, that the marks of the whip on his person may serve to deter him from repeating the offence; for he seems to think that almost all persons who seek to enrich themselves, are devoid of all principles of honor.

"Entering the palace one evening, I observed in the audience chamber a number of people sitting in a circle. By their dress, I perceived that they were collectors of districts; and in their countenances, the marks of anxious fear were visible. I was informed, by Hyder's Persian secretary, that they were come to submit their accounts. They appeared to me like criminals expecting death. Very few were able to render these to Hyder's satisfaction; and, in consequence, dreadful punishments were daily inflicted. I hardly know whether to mention how one of these unhappy men was treated. The poor criminal was tied to a post; two men approached with whips, and flogged him in the most cruel manner, the pointed nails lacerating his flesh. The cries of the wretched victim were most heart piercing.

"But, notwithstanding this severity of punishment, there are numbers who eagerly seek these lucrative em-

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ployments, and even outbid each other. The brahmins are the worst in this traffic. When one of them has obtained a district, he fleeces the inhabitants without remorse. At length, when called upon by Hyder for his arrears, he pleads poverty; and, having undergone a flagellation, returns to renew his exactions. Can we be surprised if the people, under such a government, lose all sense of shame?

"Hyder's army is under the management of four chief officers, (called baschshi.) They may be considered as pay-masters; but their office is not confined to paying the troops, as they have to provide for the recruiting service, and to regulate other military matters, being likewise judges for the decision of private quarrels. With these people I often conversed. Some of them speak Persian; others, only Hindostanee, and are all Mohammedans. They once asked me what is the most acceptable prayer, and to whom ought it to be addressed? I explained to them, that as sinful creatures, and therefore deserving eternal death, we could only approach the Almighty in the name of the Mediator, Jesus Christ; and then expounded the Lord's Prayer. They next inquired, whether the Lord Jesus, in his gospel, had fixed the period of his coming, and of the day of judgment. In reply to this, I explained to them the doctrines of the gospel; to some, in Tamul; to others, in Hindostanee. As the household of Hyder consisted chiefly of brahmins, I had very frequent conversations with them. Some of them gave me very modest answers; whilst others avoided the discussion, and gave me to understand that they did not consider their temples to have been built in vain. The 'buildings,' I replied, 'may be useful; but the idols you worship, are worthless.'

"Without the fort, several hundred Europeans were encamped; some of whom were French; others, Germans. I also met with a few Malabar Christians, whom I had instructed at Trichinopoly. To find them," he adds, with true pastoral feeling, "in that country, far from all Christian ordinances, was painful; but, to renew the instruction which they had formerly received, was very comfortable. Captain Buden, the commander of the German troops, lent me his tent, in which I performed divine service every Sunday, without asking permission;

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acting in this as one bound, in conscience, to do his duty. We sang, preached, and prayed, no one presuming to hinder us. The whole I considered as a kind providence of God.

"In Hyder's palace, high and low came, inquiring of me the nature of the Christian doctrine; so that I could speak as long as my strength allowed. Hyder's younger son (not Tippoo) seeing me in the durbar, or hall of audience, saluted me in a friendly manner, and invited me to pay him a visit in his own apartments. I told him I would come most cheerfully, provided his father would give permission; since to do so, without his consent, might prove injurious both to himself and to me. Of this he was perfectly aware. Even the most intimate friends do not venture to speak their mind freely. Hyder has every where his spies; but I knew very well, that, on the subject of religion, I might discourse day and night, without fear of giving him the least offence.

"When I was admitted to an audience, Hyder bade me sit next to him on the floor, which was covered with the richest carpets; and I was not required to take off my shoes. He listened to all I had to say;* expressed himself in a very frank and open manner, and told me, that, notwithstanding the Europeans had violated their public engagements, he was willing to live in peace with them. A letter was then read to me, which had been prepared by his order. 'In this letter,' said he, 'I have stated the substance of our conversation; but you will be able to give further explanations personally.' Hyder seemed, by this expression, to consider my visit as the preliminary to a treaty of peace; but the nabob at Madras defeated all these intentions.

"Whilst sitting near Hyder, I was struck with the expeditious manner in which the public business was despatched. When he had ceased conversing with me, some letters were read to him, and he dictated an immediate answer. The secretaries hastened away, wrote the letter, read it before him, and he affixed his seal to it.

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* In his account of this interview to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Swartz says, "Hyder Ali gave a plain answer to all the questions I was ordered to put to him; so that the honorable Board at Madras received the information they desired."

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In this way, many letters were written in the course of the evening. Hyder himself can neither read nor write; but he has an excellent memory. Few have the courage to impose upon him. He orders one to write a letter, and then has it read to him; after which, he calls another, and hears it read a second time; and if the secretary has not strictly conveyed his meaning, or has in the least deviated from his orders, his head pays for it.

"I frequently sat with him in a room, adorned with marble pillars, opening into the garden, which, though not large, as it could not be in the fort, was neatly laid out with trees, which were grafted, and bore two kinds of fruit; rows of cypresses, fountains, &c. Observing a number of youths carrying earth into the garden, I inquired respecting them, and was told that Hyder had established a battalion of boys, all of whom were orphans, and whom he had taken under his protection; boarding, and clothing them, and furnishing them with wooden guns, for the purpose of teaching them their exercise. This care of poor orphans really pleased me; and I wish our government would, in this particular, imitate his example, and improve upon it, particularly as to religious instruction, so as it becomes Britons, and as God will certainly require it at our hands, who hath armed us with power, that we should use it chiefly for his service and glory, and not merely for our own.*

"On the last evening, when I took my leave of Hyder, he requested me to speak Persian before him, as I had done with some of his attendants. Of this language he understood a little, but he does not speak it. I did so; and explained the motives of my journey to him. 'You may perhaps wonder,' said I, 'what could have induced me, a priest, who has nothing to do with political concerns, to come to you, and that on an errand which does not properly belong to my sacerdotal functions. But as I was plainly told, that the sole object of my journey was the

* The benevolent missionary was here misinformed, or he would not thus have eulogized Hyder's supposed humanity. The battalion alluded to, was formed of boys, called chêlahs, or captives, selected, at the proper age, from the numbers carried away after one of the sieges of Chittledroog, to people the island of Seringapatam, and trained, like the Turkish Janissaries, for the military service of this tyrant.

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preservation and confirmation of peace; and having witnessed, more than once, the misery and horrors attending on war; I thought within my own mind, how happy I should deem myself, if I could be of service in cementing a durable friendship between the two governments; and thus securing the blessings of peace to this devoted country, and its inhabitants. This, I considered as a commission in no wise inconsistent with my office as a minister of a religion of peace.' He said, with great cordiality, 'Very well! very well! I am of the same opinion with you; and my only wish is, that the English would live in peace with me. If they offer me the hand of peace and concord, I shall not withdraw mine, provided—'" "But of these mysterious provisions, nothing," observes Colonel Wilks, "can now be ascertained."

"I then," adds Swartz, "took my leave; and, on entering my palanquin, I found three hundred rupees, which he had sent me, to defray the expenses of my journey."

The conscientious missionary wished to decline this present, but was told by Hyder's officers that it would endanger their lives, if they presumed to take it back. He then expressed his desire to return it in person; but he was informed that it was contrary to etiquette to re-admit him into their master's presence, after having had his audience of leave, or to receive any written representation on the subject; and that Hyder, knowing that a great present would offend him, had purposely limited it to the lowest amount of travelling expenses.

Such is Mr. Swartz's interesting narrative of this singular embassy. Too much praise can scarcely be given to his conduct throughout this difficult undertaking. While his piety engaged the protection and favor of Heaven, his frank and manly bearing evidently disarmed the hostility, and won the confidence, of the Mysorean chief. The natives of India are said to be expert in appreciating character, and Hyder Ali possessed this talent in an eminent degree. He failed not to discern, under the simple and pious demeanor of Swartz, a mind of no common order; a degree of talent and of fearless integrity which he could neither deceive nor alarm, and which at once commanded his respect and conciliated his regard. Had the Madras governor been as penetrating with respect to the character and designs of Hyder, and

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as sincere in his professions of peace, as his admirable envoy, the storm which soon afterwards burst over the Carnatic, might have been retarded, if not altogether averted.

By the most unhappy coincidence,* Swartz arrived at Seringapatam a few days after Hyder had received intelligence of an attempt on the part of a body of British troops to pass without permission through his territory. This event was not calculated to allay the resentment which he had long cherished against the English on other accounts; and in fact, though gracious and condescending to the venerable missionary, in the letter to the governor, of which he was the bearer, Hyder evidently betrayed his irritation and his hostile disposition. He reviewed the conduct of the English as connected with Mohammed Ali, from his refusal to resign the province of Trichinopoly, as he had promised in 1752, to their breach of the treaty of mutual support and defence in 1769, in consequence of which his affairs had been nearly ruined, in his contest with the Mahrattas, and enumerated the capture of Mahé from the French, the conduct of the nabob's officers on the frontiers, and of the Company's servants at Tellicherry, in affording protection to his rebellious subjects, as so many proofs of their determination to break with him; adding with fearful emphasis, "*I have not yet taken my revenge, and it is no matter.* When such conduct is pursued, what engagements will remain inviolate! I leave you to judge on whose part treaties and promises have been broken. You are acquainted with all things; it is right to act with prudence and foresight." From the haughty usurper of Mysore, what could be more intelligible, or more menacing, than such language as this!

On the return of Mr. Swartz, the governor communicated for the first time to his council the result of a mission, which it seems had been undertaken without their knowledge. The only documents recorded on that occasion, are Sir Thomas Rumbold's letter to Hyder, and his reply, which have been already adverted to, and which intimated that Mr. Swartz would inform the governor of several matters with which he had charged him. No

* Wilks's South of India, vol. ii. p. 242.

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entry, however, appears on the records, of any such information; nor a single line of report or communication in any form upon this important subject.

The able historian of the South of India justly expresses his surprise at this omission, as well as that no such report had ever been officially called for. He adds, what the writer of these memoirs can confirm, that upon various inquiries, both in India and in England, no document of this nature has been discovered, and that in the preceding extracts from the correspondence of Mr. Swartz, a mysterious blank is interposed at the very point on which the desired information is wanting. "The nabob *and others*, frustrated all hopes of peace."—

The truth appears to have been, that full information of all that passed between himself and Hyder Ali was afforded by the pious missionary on his return, to the governor of Madras, and that, with his characteristic candor and fidelity, he communicated his own impressions as to the state of affairs. Swartz himself was not deceived as to the probability of an approaching rupture. He clearly foresaw, and in subsequent letters to his friends plainly adverted to the intrigues of the nabob, and the misconduct of other persons, as the causes of this calamitous event. May it not, therefore, be conjectured, that the report of the result of his mission to Hyder was not recorded, because it little coincided with the prevalent views of the Madras government?

"These extracts," says Colonel Wilks,* "are added, for the purpose of exhibiting the amount of the lights which they afford regarding the nature of the mission, and of furnishing a curious and interesting picture of the mind, of this venerable Christian, who seems to have deemed the political mission no farther worthy of notice, than as it tended to promote a particular object of spiritual pursuit."

In his last observation, this candid and eloquent writer by no means does justice to the character and views of Swartz. It was, indeed, one of the motives which induced him to undertake the embassy to Hyder Ali, that it would afford him an opportunity of pursuing the higher objects of his sacred mission; but he was, at the same

* From the missionary's correspondence.

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time, deeply interested in the preservation of the peace of India, and, as the most effectual means of securing it, was anxious to promote the British power and ascendancy in that country. Simple and spiritual as he was, he entertained the most just and enlarged conceptions of the real welfare of nations, and upon more than one occasion evinced the extent of his information and the soundness of his judgment on points of civil and political importance. In one respect only did he invariably reject every approach to secularity—in steadily refusing to derive from political services any personal or pecuniary advantage.

On his return to Madras, "having been furnished," says this disinterested man, "with all necessaries by the honorable board, I delivered the bag containing the three hundred rupees sent by Hyder to them, who desired me to keep it. Thus urged, I requested their permission to appropriate this sum as the first fund for an English orphan school at Tanjore, hoping that some charitable people would increase it. General Munro promised to recommend the plan to the gentlemen of the settlement." This design was immediately commenced, and it will be gratifying to know, was afterwards carried into extensive and most beneficial execution.

"Being told," continued Swartz, "that Sir Thomas Rumbold intended to procure me a present from the board, I begged leave to decline accepting any, declaring that if my journey had been in any way beneficial to the public, I rejoiced at the opportunity. I signified, however, that it would make me very happy if the board would allow my colleague at Trichinopoly the same yearly sum they had given to me, being convinced that he would use it for the benefit of the school, and the maintenance of some catechists. This request was granted. Mr. Pohlé receives at Trichinopoly yearly a hundred pounds sterling, as I do here at Tanjore; by which means we are enabled to maintain in both places schoolmasters and catechists." The government further immediately ordered that he should be supplied with bricks and lime towards the building of his church at Tanjore.

Thus ended this memorable visit of Swartz to the capital of Mysore. "Of my journey back," he observes, "and the conversations I held with heathens, Roman Catholics, and Mohammedans, I cannot, on account of the

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shortness of time, say more. God preserved me on the dangerous journey, gave me abundant opportunities to announce his word, and directed all circumstances so as was most expedient for me. Praised be his gracious name! May the Almighty grant that every where, and even in the Mysore country, his gospel may be preached, received, and glorified; so that many thousands may be converted, and eternally saved, to the praise and glory of God, and of his son Jesus Christ!"

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CHAPTER XII.

Completion of the church in the little Fort at Tanjore—Preparation of another for the Tamul congregation in the garden, presented by the rajah to Mr. Swartz, in the suburbs—Letters to friends—Invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ali—Letters to Mr. and Mrs. Chambers—Desolation and distress of the country in consequence of Hyder's attack—Benevolent exertions of Swartz to relieve it.

THE new church at Tanjore, thus auspiciously commenced, was carried on with so much vigor that early in the year 1780, Swartz expressed his hope that he should perform divine service in it in the course of a few weeks. It was completed according to his expectation, and consecrated in the month of April by the name of Christ Church. "It is built," as he informed the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, "upon the plan of the church at Trichinopoly, being ninety feet long and fifty broad; so that five hundred people may conveniently find room in it. But," he continues, "though the church is very convenient to the garrison, it is not so to the Malabar congregation, the greater part of whom live in the suburbs. They used to assemble in the large fort, where my late worthy friend, Major Stevens, had prepared a very convenient place.

"But as the spot on which he built belonged to a brahmin family, which he endeavored to find out, but in vain, and when at last that family, upon their return to the Fort, refused to sell the ground, we were in conscience obliged to let them possess their own property. However, we soon got a more convenient place given us by the rajah, near to which was a vaulted house for the use of an European family. That family quitting the place, I bought the house for one hundred and fifty pagodas, which were given to me by Mr. John Macpherson, at the time of his

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returning to England, and by General Munro. But as this house was by much too small for the congregation, I lengthened it, so that it is now a convenient church for that congregation. It lies on a rising ground, not an English mile distant from the Fort. Round about it live the inhabitants. On all sides of it is an empty spot, on which may be built a school-house, and houses for the catechists. I have inclosed it with a wall. All circumstances concurred to make this house of prayer convenient, healthy, and remote from noise. Blessed be God, that we are so agreeably placed! May he graciously vouchsafe his blessing, that many thousands of the poor heathens may hear, embrace, and practise the truth preached in the midst of their habitations!"

In the same letter in which he thus piously and unostentatiously communicates to the society the commencement and completion of both these good and important works, he informs them that he had enjoyed a perfect state of health, and had not been hindered by any sickness in the performance of his various duties. "The catechists," he added, "and schoolmasters are all living, and according to the best of their abilities assist me in preaching the word of God. To make known to Gentiles and Christians the way that leadeth unto life has been my aim; and that most important business, I have pursued through the last year, and, I hope, not without success."

Shortly afterwards he addressed the following letter to his young friend, the son of Colonel Wood, the wise and affectionate admonitions of which, it will be perceived, are beautifully adapted to his growing years.

"Tanjore, Feb. 22, 1780.

"I have received your kind letter, and rejoiced that the son of my much esteemed friend, who is now in eternity, goes on learning such things as will make him useful in human society. You learn Latin, geography, arithmetic, French, drawing; all which may be very serviceable to you and beneficial to your fellow-creatures. I entreat you, therefore, to be very diligent, and to spend your time in the best manner. I remember that when I learnt vocal music, in my younger days, I did not think that I should use it much; and behold now, every morning and

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evening when the Malabar children come to prayer, I teach them to sing in praise of their Redeemer. Every week they learn one hymn, for they are slow. Now I am well pleased that I was instructed in vocal music; all things may become useful to us and others.

"But then, my dear friend, our intention, our duties, must be well managed; or in other words, our hearts must be truly mended. As you have spent many months and years in learning useful things, let your heart now be given over to your God, otherwise your learning will not prove beneficial; nay, which is deplorable, it may be abused to your detriment.

"As you are so well placed, I beseech you, by the mercy of God, my dear J., to mind now the best, the one thing needful. Examine your heart, and whatever you find in it that is not agreeable to the will of God, (and you will find much of that sort,) acknowledge and bewail it before your God; entreat him to wash and cleanse you from all your sins. Rest not till you find rest to your soul. Having obtained pardon and peace through Jesus, watch and pray, that you may not lose what you have gained, but that you may rather grow daily in faith, love, and hope.

"In your conversation with young people be very cautious. Their thoughts and speeches are often too frothy, aye, and even dangerous. Above all, try to gain strength—divine strength, to overcome that sinful bashfulness, whereby many are ashamed to confess or practise what they otherwise approve of in their heart. If you read your Bible, and pray heartily to God, you will get strength every day to go on and prosper in his way. Our time is but short; eternity, awful eternity, is at hand. Let us, therefore, not trifle away our time, but let us seek the Lord, and his grace, his blessing, and his strength. As you, dear J., are blessed with a pious mother, who is unspeakably desirous of promoting your welfare, I hope you will take all possible care to comfort and rejoice her heart. Though I have never seen your schoolmaster, it is cause enough for me to revere him, that I hear that he is a faithful servant of his Lord and master Jesus Christ. May God bless him, and all that are under his care!

"P. S.—I communicated your letter to Mr. John Kohlhoff, who lives at present at Trichinopoly, and desired him to write you a few lines which I hereby inclose."

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Hitherto the health of Swartz had been vigorous and unimpaired. In the course of this year, he complained of pain in the shoulder and side, which indicated something of the disorder so prevalent in India, but which happily soon subsided. It is to this that he refers in the following letter, addressed to the lady of William Duffin, Esq. a medical gentleman in the service of the East India Company, who had been resident at Trichinopoly, and for whom he ever professed the highest esteem. They were at this time at Vellore.

"Dear Madam,—Your most agreeable favor I have had near two months on my table, having looked on it very often, and as often desiring to answer it. My indisposition hindered me first a long while. For though I was not confined, my right arm gave me so much pain, that I was unfit to write, nay, to hold a book with it. But now it is much better, by the mercy of God. He is the author and preserver of our lives. If he be pleased to let us stand for some time, O may he grant us strength to live to his glory and praise! Our time is in his hand.

"The behavior of the Europeans in this country is truly lamentable. But let us live in such a manner that we may be witnesses of God's goodness—witnesses of the sufferings and resurrection of Jesus. Whatever *they* now say to keep themselves in countenance, they will soon bewail it. To be ashamed of God, the author of their life; to scorn their Redeemer, who bled and died for them; who purchased their pardon, peace, nay, eternal life—how shocking!

"Your celebration of the Lord's day is very pleasing. John was in the Spirit on the Lord's day. May you improve every Lord's day in knowledge, hatred of every sin, hunger and thirst after the righteousness of Jesus, and, in short, in every branch of true Christianity!

"I intended to say something, however, to distinguish the true doctrine of God from the spurious and fashionable one, but I hope to do it in my next.

"You are then the governess of your school. Who knoweth how much good may proceed from it? Let us not despise small things. God is pleased to bless them. My best wishes attend you, and my dear friend Mr. D.

"Being your most obedient humble servant.

"July 22, 1780."

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About the same date is the following letter to the daughter of Colonel Wood, full of pious and affectionate admonition, and exhibiting some touching traits of apostolic simplicity and fervor.

"With great joy I have been reading again and again the most agreeable letter which N—— has written me. I praise God for all the innumerable blessings which he, for the sake of your Redeemer, has bestowed upon you all, particularly for that inestimable benefit of being guided, instructed, and corrected, by a religious mother and governess. Be sure you are, in this respect, blessed above millions. The advantages which you daily reap from that double blessing are obvious, and very great. The impressions which we get from the good example of those whom we honor, are very lasting; and though we sometimes swerve, they follow us, and incline our hearts to pursue that which is good. My blessed friend, Major S——, told me, that the pious conduct of his mother laid the first foundations of that excellent frame of mind which was afterwards raised and strengthened by divine grace. But remember always the rule which is strictly observed by God, namely, 'To whom much is given, from them much will be required.' O my dear young friends, regard the admonitions, example, nay, and the correction, of your pious mamma; despise them not; prize them higher than all jewels. Rejoice her heart by your humble and obedient behavior, as I hope you have hitherto done. Doubtless you see and hear much in so large a city, which should not so much as be named by Christians. But the church is at present like a field which is overgrown with weeds, thorns, and thistles. You are happily guarded by your Christian education against the pernicious influence which the prevailing wickedness might otherwise have over you. Shun those places; turn away your eyes and hearts from all which might vitiate your mind, or at least tempt you, or retard you in your way. Be sure, you may pray, nay, be fervent in prayer; but except you watch, you will lose all most miserably. Watchfulness is the soul of Christianity. Be therefore careful. Watch; above all, watch over your heart, over your conversation, over the company you keep. In short, be wise virgins. You will then be ready to go out to

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meet the Lord. You read, you pray, you sing hymns; but take care that all these excellent things may improve your hearts and lives, that by your reading you may grow in the knowledge of Jesus, in faith, in a sincere love towards him, in willingness to follow him, in hating and rejecting all things which hinder you in your desire of winning Christ, and the happiness of being found in him. I remember you all frequently; my heart wishes you all the riches of grace, of strength, and comfort, which are to be found in Jesus.

"When you come together to bow your knees before the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, forget not your old friend who lives in this wilderness. Beg of God, that grace may be given me to finish my course with joy, and that in the time that my kind Master suffereth me to work, I may glorify him. After I have preached in the Fort to the English, I go out to the Malabar church, when I preach from ten till twelve. In the afternoon a catechist repeats the sermon, and at seven o'clock in the evening we have prayer; then I go to rest pleasingly tired. At our prayer I frequently remember you. Such joy the Lord my master grants me in the wilderness! O when shall we appear before his glorious presence! Till I see you there, I am, your affectionate friend.

"P. S.—Remember me to your pious governess."

Notwithstanding the pacific mission of Swartz to Seringapatam, and the assurance of Hyder Ali of his anxiety to preserve peace with the Madras government, jealousy, and doubtless just dissatisfaction as to some of their proceedings, his own ambitious views, and the intrigues of the French, at this crisis again at war with England, and of several of the native powers, combined in the course of a few months after Swartz's visit, to induce him to throw off the mask, and to commence hostilities against the English. In the month of June, 1780, Hyder invaded the Carnatic with an army of nearly one hundred thousand men; his cavalry overran the country with the most frightful rapidity, and spread ruin and desolation in every direction. Every day brought fresh intelligence of his conquests and devastation; but such was the apathy of the ruling party in the council at Madras, that they could not be convinced of the approach-

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ing danger, until black columns of smoke, mingled with flame, were discovered within a few miles of Madras. A party of Hyder's horse committed ravages even at St. Thomas's Mount, and the inhabitants of the open town began to take flight.

It is to these fearful events that Swartz refers at the close of the year in the following letter to Mr. Chambers, in which the confusion and perplexity, not to say the negligence and mismanagement of the English government, and the treachery or alienation of some of the native princes, are described with the strength and accuracy of an intelligent, and the piety of a Christian, observer.

"My dear Friend,—I will not venture to excuse, much less justify myself, on account of my strange delay in answering your most valuable letters. In short, I am guilty. The account you have given me of the death of Mr. ——'s brother, of your own situation, of the spiritual state of your dear consort, are so reviving, that I have not only read them again and again, but keep them as testimonies of the divine mercy. Truly such accounts strengthen our faith, love, and hope, and are particularly very useful to those who work in the Lord's vineyard, and are often tempted with the discouraging thoughts of laboring in vain.

"Go on, my dear friend, and be sure, that if you are instrumental in converting a soul, you have gained more than if you got the treasures of both Indies. I write to a Christian, and therefore I am sure I shall not be accused of having exaggerated the worth and value of pious labors.

"I wish I could send you reciprocally a list of real converts; who, renouncing all the works, nay, lusts of the world, look out for grace, peace, joy, true happiness, in the Lord Jesus Christ. But, alas! how rare are these!

"It is true Coromandel has been visited by the Lord; the inhabitants of it have had time, and places to be instructed; the book of God, and other useful treatises, have been freely offered to them; nay, they have been pressed to accept of these spiritual treasures; but they have neglected, not to say despised, the gracious counsel

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of God, preferring the friendship and things of the world before the blessings of God.

"Now the Lord God begins to visit them in a different manner. Their idols, on which they leaned, are taken away; their houses burnt, their cattle driven away, and, what afflicts many thousand parents unspeakably more, is, that Hyder sends their best children away. All the smart boys of eight, or nine, or ten years, he sends to his country. He has now reigned in this manner above five months, without meeting any opposition.

"Our leaders pursued other things; the welfare of the public was entirely forgotten; private interests, pleasures, luxury, were come to a stupendous height. They were warned three months before Hyder's invasion; but they despised the warning, saying, 'Hyder might as well fly as come into the Carnatic!' None could persuade them to the contrary, till they saw his horse at their garden houses. Then consternation seized them; nothing but confusion was visible. Hyder pursued his plan; took one fort after another, till he got possession of Arcot. Now he desires that the Dutch and Danes shall send their counsellors to compliment him as Nabob of Arcot.

"It seems as if all the country people wished for a change. Worriarpallam, Marawar, Tinnevelly Country, Madura, all are up in arms. The Colleries are encouraged by Hyder; and our place (you understand me) is suspected. These are terrible judgments of God. But are they not holy and just? Even the most profligate people seem to be convinced of it. If they would repent, and sue for mercy, who knows but a holy God might have mercy on them?

"But what shall I say? I tremble at the sight of it. Even now, every one looks out for some rich post. Every thing is like a job, not to mention their continuance in their wonted sins.

"I dare say you fully know the transactions of Sir ——, &c. how they did every thing to bring this calamity on the poor country.

"The nabob says he has no money; his disciplined troops he provoked, by withholding their pay. So he trained soldiers (above 20,000) for several years, for Hyder's service.

"Our people here at T—— seem to be very averse to

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our G——, and no wonder; for they were ill treated, and therefore do not care whether we sink or escape. And above all, our infidelity, our contempt of divine things, is beyond description, and brings upon us the wrath of God.

"Now what is to be done? I say, with Jeremy, 'Be thou not terrible unto me, O God.' This calamity is from the Lord; and doubtless he intends to purge us from our sins, and take away our dross. Heathens and nominal Christians were asleep, nay, dead, and minding nothing but the things of the world. By the soft voice of God they would not be awakened. Who knows but they may arise on hearing the thundering voice of the Lord!

"This letter I send by Captain S——, who returned from England. He brought me a letter from Mrs. Wood, which is full of complaints, as you may imagine. Alas! she will get no money from the nabob, particularly as the country is in Hyder's hands, and quite drained. The king of Tanjore promised me to pay her the 14,500 pagodas;* but I am afraid, as his people are running away, and the villages very thinly inhabited, he will refuse to fulfil his engagement.

"God bless you, my dearest friend, and your dear consort. Tell Mr. G—— and his lady, that I remember them very often. O may you all be a holy seed in Bengal! Remember me to your steward, my beloved Mr. Obeck, and assure him of my constant love and good wishes. May you all grow daily in faith, love, and hope, through the Holy Spirit!

"If Mr. —— and his colleagues, whose transactions, I am afraid, are not guided by the spirit of humility, come in your way, present my best wishes to them; and I might well add, explain to them 'the way of the Lord.'

"I am constantly, your affectionate friend and servant.

"Tanjore, December 19, 1780."

"You inquire about our church. You must know, that we have two. The large one in the little fort is built according to the model of the Trichinopoly church, was

* The difficulty respecting the repayment of this sum, originally lent to the rajah of Tanjore, arose partly from the confusion into which his affairs were thrown by his deposition, and the intermediate government of the nabob, and partly by the invasion of Hyder Ali.

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finished, has been used from the 16th of April, and—what shall I say?—is now required to be a magazine for paddy: for nothing has been built here, no not a magazine to keep the powder in. The second church is half an English mile distant from the Fort, towards the east, for the use of the Malabar people. I preach from eight to ten to the English, from ten to twelve to the Malabar, and from four to five, in the afternoon, to the Portuguese; and then I say, I have served. Blessed Jesus, give thou the increase! Amen.

"P. S.—You have sent me a bill for three hundred and fifty-nine pagodas. I wait for an explanation; for you do not owe me so much."

On the same day on which the preceding letter was written, Swartz addressed the following to Mrs. Chambers. It affords a beautiful specimen of Christian affection and urbanity, and presents a brief, but impressive, view of the great principles of vital and practical religion, which formed the basis of his own character, and the source of his consolation and joy.

"Tanjore, December 19, 1780.

"Madam,—Had I no other reason for addressing you than your being connected with my dearest friend in India, I think I should stand absolved from all imputation of being impertinent. But you have sent me joyful news concerning Mr. ——'s life and death, and copied them with your own hands; by this, you have made my addressing you an act of gratitude.

"I rejoice over your mutual happiness. You, madam, are united to a Christian. This will, this must ennoble your state of matrimony. This must endear your connection, even in respect of eternity. How happy should I be, if I could see you both, converse with you, and finish our conversation with prayer and thanksgiving. But though I cannot enjoy this delight at present, I may anticipate something of it by sending you a line now and then.

"You know, madam, that the goodness of a building depends much upon the foundation; if that be deep and firm, the whole building will be strong.

"Just so it is in Christianity, which is compared, by

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an excellent master-builder, (St. Paul,) to a building. Let us then take care to lay the foundation as deep as possible.

"The only foundation of all our holiness and happiness, in time and eternity, is Jesus Christ: his atonement, his righteousness, and sacrifice. If we are united to him, so as to share in his all-sufficient righteousness, we shall have and enjoy every blessing: wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption: we shall glory in him.

"Now, that we may know, value, desire, and choose Him, we must know ourselves, and our sad condition by nature. In proportion as we know ourselves, we shall desire and hunger after Jesus, more or less. And still how backward are we to know our hearts, our poverty, and misery! Let us, therefore, entreat God to grant us his Spirit, that by the light of that Searcher of hearts, we may see our true condition. This will make us humble, and show our poverty; but blessed are the poor in spirit, who have been so far enlightened as to see their poverty, in respect of knowledge, holiness, strength, happiness; for in all these particulars we are poor.

"This poverty the world endeavors to remove by riches, honor, fame, pleasures, and what not. But gold and silver cannot pay off our dreadful debt which we have contracted; it may, by ill use, even increase it.

"Others endeavor to become free from sin and sorrow by living a strict and virtuous life: they are servants, who owe their master ten thousand talents, but they fancy to pay off that debt by a farthing or two; and by such farthings, as, if well inspected, will be found bad coin. But the strict and holy law of God says, 'Pay that which thou owest;' pay all, perfectly. 'Cursed be every one that doeth not according to all that is written in the law.' And who of us is able to satisfy these just demands?

"But the righteousness which is by faith, doth not say, pay thou all; but rather entreats us to accept of that *full payment*, which has been made by Jesus Christ. This righteousness of faith, (to represent it as a speaking person,) says, in a warning manner, to every mourning sinner, 'Say not in thy heart, Who shall ascend into heaven, that is, to bring down Christ from above?' Be upon thy guard; do not thou, O mourning sinner, speak in so unbelieving a manner; for by such a speech thou

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deniest Christ, as if he had not come from heaven to redeem thee.

"Neither say, 'Who shall descend into the deep,' to atone for my sins? Would not such a speech be a denial of the sufferings of Christ, as if he had not yet descended into the deep, death, and the grave,—or as if he was still in the grave, and not yet risen from the dead?

"But the righteousness which is by faith, not only warneth us, but gives, at the same time, the most salutary counsel; viz.

"The word which thou, O mourning sinner, needest for thy comfort, is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, (so that thou art able to speak of it,) and in thy heart, (so as to perceive and feel its strength.) Why, then, wouldest thou refuse to accept of it?

"That is the word of faith, which the apostles preached and sealed by divine works and miracles; so that there remaineth no reasonable doubt of its being divine; 'that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth, that Jesus,' who was crucified in order to redeem us, 'is *Lord*,' our redeeming Lord and King, 'and shalt believe in thy heart that God has raised him from the dead,' in testimony that he has fulfilled all:

"If thou, who art hungry and thirsty after righteousness, pardon, and peace, takest thy refuge in Jesus, who has made a full atonement for thy sins; and to whom God has given his judicial approbation, by raising him from the dead: thou art happy, blessed, pardoned, and a beloved child of God.

"This is the only way in which we, who are poor, depraved, and deep in debt, may find comfort, strength,—nay, eternal life.

"So Paul thought—so all prophets preach—so all true Christians have believed; and so I hope you, madam, and my friend, your husband, look out for all blessings, in and through Christ. Here is firm footing. This union and communion with Him will make your life happy, and your conduct holy. This will fill you with grateful sentiments, and make you very kind to your fellow-creatures.

"Believing in Christ, and having found pardon, peace, and hope of everlasting happiness, by faith, you will not regret the loss of worldly friends. Paul could count all

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(all riches, honors, pleasures of the world) loss and dung, that he might win Christ, and be found in him. Try to follow him. Having obtained the best, I hope you will be less anxious about smaller matters.

"You see, madam, by my prolixity, that I almost fancied myself to be in your company.

"That you and your dear husband may always, in health and in sickness, in riches and poverty, in time and eternity, be found in Jesus Christ, is the hearty prayer of, madam, your most obedient humble servant."

The three succeeding years were distinguished throughout the Carnatic and the south of India, by the complicated horrors of war, desolation, and famine. The sluices which irrigate the country, being destroyed by Hyder's troops, and the inhabitants having no security for their crops, did not sow their fields, and consequently could reap no harvest. They forsook the country, and fled in crowds to the towns, where the scarcity rose to a fearful height. During this long and trying period of visitation and calamity, the prudence and foresight, and the pious and active benevolence of Mr. Swartz, were eminently conspicuous, both in providing for the support of those immediately dependent upon the mission, and in alleviating the distress and misery of multitudes of the perishing natives around him.

Thus he writes in September, 1783, to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge:

"The last three years have been years of sorrow and anxiety: notwithstanding which, we have no reason at all to murmur, or to find fault with God's ways, which are ever just and equal; and the judgments which have befallen us, may, perhaps, be more conducive to the true welfare of the country than we conceive. This year God's fatherly goodness has preserved and strengthened us for his service. All the four catechists are alive, as is likewise the Tamulian schoolmaster. Besides these five, I have taken two more upon trial, who have been educated in the mission school at Tranquebar: both seem to be truly religious. Our congregation has received an increase of upwards of a hundred: most of them, it is apprehended, have been compelled, by the famine, to come to us: nevertheless I have given them the neces-

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sary instruction, and this during the space of several months; during which I have also procured them some provisions. The teaching them was attended with much difficulty and fatigue, on account of the great decrease of their mental powers. Yet I could not persuade myself that it would be consistent with the will of God to put these poor people off; many of whom afterwards died. As the famine was so great, and of so long continuance, those have been affected by it who seemed to be beyond its reach. A vigorous and strong man is scarcely to be met with: in outward appearance, men are like wandering skeletons.

"When I returned from Seringapatam, I saw reason to apprehend an approaching war: this induced me to buy rice whilst it was at a low price, which proved of great benefit to our catechists. Besides this, God moved the hearts of some Europeans to send me a portion monthly to distribute among the people lying on the road, by which means numbers of them have been saved from perishing. This benefaction is continued to this day, so that about a hundred and twenty persons are constantly fed.

"When it is considered that Hyder Ali has carried off so many thousands of people, and that many thousands have died of want, it is not at all surprising to find not only empty houses, but desolated villages—a mournful spectacle indeed!"

In a letter to one of his friends, Swartz more minutely describes the distress which prevailed at this calamitous period, in and around Tanjore, and the seasonable relief which his foresight, good sense, and influence with the natives enabled him to afford.

"We have suffered exceedingly in this fortress from hunger and misery. When passing through the streets early in the morning, the dead were lying in heaps on the dunghills."

He then mentions his purchase already alluded to, of twelve thousand bushels of rice, by which he was enabled, not only to support his catechists and schoolmasters, but to assist many others. "Unfortunately," he continues, "there was no magazine in the fort for the native soldiers or sepoys. The king and the Company requested me

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twice to procure provisions for the garrison, since they were unable to obtain oxen for the carriages, for want of a good understanding with the natives. In this dilemma I wrote to the inhabitants, desiring them to bring their cattle, and promising them payment on my own responsibility. This had the desired effect; the oxen were brought, and the garrison supplied, at the very moment when a fresh attack from the enemy was expected. I afterwards settled with the natives, and they went home quite satisfied. The Lord also enabled me to consider the poor; so that I had it in my power to feed a considerable number for the space of seventeen months. Often eight hundred poor people assembled. Several Europeans sent sums of money for this charitable purpose; but instead of giving them the money, I prepared food and distributed it, many of them having no utensils for cooking. Such distress I never before witnessed, and God grant I never may again."

Writing a few months afterwards from Trichinopoly, he says, "Our Fort contained the best part of the inhabitants of the country, who flocked hither to escape the unrelenting cruelty of the enemy. Daily we conversed with these people, and tried to convince them of the vanity of their idols, and to induce them to turn to the living God. They readily own the superior excellence of the Christian doctrine, but remain in their deplorable errors for various frivolous reasons.

"It were to be wished," he piously adds, "that the country people, having suffered nearly four years all manner of calamity, would consider the things which belong to their eternal welfare, for which my assistants pray and labor in conjunction with me. But though the fruit of our labor has not hitherto answered our wishes, still I am happy in being made an instrument of Providence to instruct some, and to warn others. Who knows but there may come a time when others may reap what we are sowing!"

While Swartz was thus naturally and justly anxious to avail himself of the opportunity of addressing "a word in season" to the famishing natives around him, his general caution, as well as his Christian wisdom and kindness, are well expressed by Mr. Pohlé in a letter to the Society,

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after spending a few days with him during this period at Tanjore.

"He is very careful," he observes, "with regard to receiving both heathen and Roman Catholics into the church. He has nothing to do with people that want only to be fed, or that are unknown vagabonds. But such as are known, and wish to be Christians, and after being received, to eat the labor of their own hands, them it would be unjust to reject, though they should want a little assistance during the time of their preparation. They must live from hand to mouth; and it would be cruel not to assist them under pretence of a supposed hypocrisy, or lest it should be looked upon as buying Christians for money."

The Madras government was but ill prepared for the formidable attack of the Mysorean chief. Their treasury was exhausted, their councils divided, and their native allies but little to be trusted. Several of the forts held by the troops of the nabob were surrendered, after a slight resistance, to the enemy. A detachment of English troops, under Colonel Baillie, in attempting to join the commander-in-chief, Sir Hector Monro, was cut off; the greater part of the corps perished on the field; and the remainder, including two hundred Europeans, were taken prisoners and consigned to the dungeons of Seringapatam. Hyder, elated by his successes, and encouraged by the French officers who directed the movements of his army, indulged the hope of conquering the Carnatic, and of expelling the English from that portion of the Peninsula. At this important crisis, Mr. Hastings, the governor-general of Bengal, interposed to rescue the British army and the possessions of the Company from the dangers which surrounded them. He suspended the governor of Fort St. George, and despatched Sir Eyre Coote, who had long before distinguished himself as an officer of the highest military reputation, with a reinforcement of troops, to assume the chief command at Madras. He immediately took the field, and notwithstanding the difficulties with which he had to contend in a country converted almost into a desert, by the destructive warfare of Hyder, raised the siege of several places which he had invested, and defeated him in four pitched battles. In the mean time,

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Mr. Hastings prevailed upon the Mahrattas to withdraw from their alliance with Hyder; and though he had received a strong reinforcement of French troops, and his son Tippoo, who took an active share in the war, had succeeded in cutting off a considerable body of troops under Colonel Brathwaite, on the banks of the Coleroon, the British army, both on the coast of Coromandel and on the side of Malabar, made such vigorous efforts that Hyder was unable to face it in the open field, and the contest with this formidable enemy assumed a far more favorable aspect.

The Christian character of Swartz attracted during this perilous crisis universal confidence and esteem; and so powerfully had his conduct impressed Hyder Ali himself in his favor, that amidst his cruel and desolating career, he gave orders to his officers, "to permit the venerable padre Swartz to pass unmolested, and to show him respect and kindness; for he is a holy man, and means no harm to my government."

He was generally allowed to pass through the midst of the enemy's encampments without the slightest hinderance; and such was their delicacy of feeling towards him, that when it was thought necessary to detain his palanquin, the sentinel was directed to assign as a reason, that he was waiting for orders to let him proceed. Thus, when the whole country was overrun by Hyder's troops, the general reverence for the character of *the good father*, (as he was emphatically called,) enabled him to pursue his peaceful labors even in the midst of war.

An interesting anecdote connected with this distressing season, is related by Christian David,* whose father was a convert of Swartz, and who had himself waited when a boy on the apostolic missionary. They had been travelling all day, and arriving at a small village at sunset, the good man sat down under a tree and conversed with the natives, who came round him, while his horse-keeper was cooking their evening meal. When the rice and curry were spread on the plantain leaf, Swartz stood up to ask a blessing on the food they were going to share, and to thank God for watching over them through the dangers of the day, and providing so richly for their repose and com-

* Ordained by Bishop Heber at Calcutta.

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fort. His heart was full of gratitude, and expressed itself in the natural eloquence of prayer and praise. The poor boy for some time repressed his impatience, but his hunger at last overpowered his respect for his master, and he ventured to expostulate, and to remind him that the curry would be cold. He describes very touchingly the earnestness and solemnity of the reproof he received. "What!" said he, "shall our gracious God watch over us through the heat and burden of the day, and shall we devour the food which he provides for us at night with hands which we have never raised in prayer, and lips which have never praised him!"*

During the whole of the afflicting period described in the preceding extracts, the missionaries at Tanjore and Trichinopoly were permitted to enjoy comparative security and comfort. Thus Mr. Swartz devoutly acknowledges this merciful exemption.

"We adore the divine goodness, which has preserved my fellow-laborers and me, in the midst of calamities. While the sword, famine, and epidemic sickness swept away many thousands, we have enjoyed health, and have been accommodated with all necessaries. May we never forget the various mercies which God has bestowed upon us!"

* Archdeacon Robinson's "Last Days of Bishop Heber," p. 14.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Death of Hyder Ali—Continuation of the war by Tippoo Sultan—Return to Madras, and death, of Sir Eyre Coote—Successes of Colonel Fullarton in Southern India—Negotiation for peace—Lord Macartney requests Mr. Swartz to join the Commissioners at Seringapatam—He consents, and sets out on the journey—Letters to Mr. Sullivan—Meets Colonel Fullarton and his army—He is stopped by Tippoo's officers, at Sattimungalum—Returns to Tanjore—Declines attempting a second journey—Peace concluded with Tippoo—Letters to several friends on the preceding events—Journey with Mr. Sullivan to Ramanad—Plan of the provincial schools—Journey, on account of his health, to the coast—Letters to Mr. Sullivan, and Mr. Duffin—Swartz as a Preacher.

At the close of the year 1782, Hyder Ali, the most powerful and able opponent of the British dominion in India, who had hitherto appeared, died at an advanced age at Chittore. He was succeeded in the empire, to which his civil and military talents had raised him, by his son Tippoo; who, though not equal to his father in general ability, was not deficient either in bravery or military skill, and inherited both his ambition and his implacable enmity to the English authority. The war continued, therefore, to be prosecuted with vigor, and, on the part of the Mohammedan Sultan, for such was the title which he assumed on the death of Hyder, with unrelenting severity.

The dissensions which at this time unhappily prevailed between the civil and military authorities at Madras, prevented them from availing themselves of the advantage which so important an event had thrown into their hands. Sir Eyre Coote was, in consequence, again sent to take the command in the Carnatic; but that gallant veteran, worn out with former toils, sunk under the return of com-

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plaints from which he had previously suffered, and expired early in 1783, two days after his arrival at Madras, and a few months only after the decease of Hyder Ali, whose career he had so successfully checked.

Tippoo, considering the western coast of India as having become the principal seat of the war, withdrew his troops from the Carnatic. The English, in consequence, attacked Cuddalore, which was then in the possession of the French; but before they could reduce it, news having arrived of peace in Europe between the two nations, the French commander suspended offensive operations, and withdrew his countrymen from the service of Tippoo. In the mean time, the English became decidedly superior on the western coast, and in the south the brilliant campaign of Col. Fullarton was rapidly restoring the British ascendancy. Caroor and Dindegal, and afterwards Palgaut and Coimbetore were reduced, and he was even preparing to ascend the Ghauts, and anticipating the conquest of Mysore, when he was suddenly arrested in his triumphant progress, and directed to restore all his recent conquests. Tippoo had applied for two English commissioners to proceed to his camp, and enter into negotiations for a treaty of peace; and the Madras government, alarmed at the failure of their resources for the continuance of the war, with doubtful policy, complied with his request.

From his well known integrity and ability, and from his superior acquaintance with the native languages, of which the commissioners were ignorant, Swartz was requested by the governor of Madras to join them, as their interpreter, with the sultan of Mysore.

The following is Lord Macartney's letter to him upon this subject.

"Sir,—My knowledge of your excellent character, and of the cheerfulness with which, on several occasions, you have lent your assistance to the public service, encourage me to request it, on behalf of the Company, in one of very great importance, which now presents itself.

"You doubtless know that commissioners from this government are now on the road to Tippoo Sultan, to complete the pacification settled by the treaty in Europe. The commission now consists of Anthony Sadlier, George Leonard Staunton, and John Hudleston, Esqs.; and the

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request I have to make to you, is, that you will join them on the road, and act as their interpreter, with Tippoo Sultan. By complying with this request, you will render essential service to the public, and confer an obligation on the Company, as well as on him, who is, with much esteem, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

"MACARTNEY.

"Fort St. George, Dec. 3, 1783."

The reply to a request expressed in terms so honorable to the excellent missionary, was communicated through Mr. Sullivan,* then the Resident at Tanjore. With this able and estimable servant of the Company, whose energy and address had revived public confidence after the defeat of Colonel Brathwaite, and who was charged with a general superintendence over the southern provinces, Mr. Swartz was in habits of friendly and confidential intercourse.

With the same readiness to do good, and to promote the restoration of peace, and with the same disinterested disregard of all personal considerations, which had actuated him upon a former occasion, Mr. Swartz informed Lord Macartney, through Mr. Sullivan, that "his repugnance to a political mission, though great, had yielded to his desire of rendering the Company any service within his power." Yet so anxious was he to guard against whatever might be in the slightest degree inconsistent with his sacred character, that before any definitive arrangement was made, he wrote the following letter to that gentleman; which is strikingly characteristic of the pure and elevated principles by which he was invariably governed.

"Dear Sir,—I forgot to mention to you, though I talked of it before Mr. Hippisley,† viz. that as Colonel Fullarton has required stores, powder, &c. it has, as I think, too much the appearance of hostilities. You know that I am willing to do what little service I can for the benefit of this poor country; but should not wish to have even the remotest appearance of deceit. If you supply Colonel Fullarton with the stores for which he has

* The present Right Honorable John Sullivan.

† The late Sir John Coxe Hippisley, Bart., then Paymaster at Tanjore.

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sent Captain Maitland, I cannot conceal my doubts and apprehensions; particularly as I heard of General M——'s march. Let me, I beseech you, know what you intend to do, before I give my final answer in writing to Lord Macartney. You, I am sure, would not wish that I should appear an impostor, or as a tool to forward any thing but what is perfectly agreeable to my office.

"Dec. 6, 1783."

The difficulty, so conscientiously and simply stated, having doubtless been satisfactorily obviated, Mr. Swartz left Tanjore for Coimbetoor, by way of Dindegal and Darapuram, intending to proceed from thence by the shortest route, through the Gudgeratty pass, to join the commissioners at Seringapatam.

The following extracts, from a series of letters to Mr. Sullivan, during his journey, will, it is presumed, be deemed interesting, both as throwing light on the state of the country, and the war in that part of India, at this critical period, and as illustrative of the character of Swartz, both as a Christian and a man.

"Dindegal, December 20, 1783.

"This evening I arrived here in perfect health. I praise God for his protection. All along I have been delighted with the mountains, and have frequently applied the words of the psalmist, who, speaking of the heavens, says, that they 'declare the glory of God.' May we not, nay, ought we not to say, that the mountains declare the same? God is great, and appears wise, good, and omnipotent in all his works."

On the 24th, he left Dindegal, accompanied by a Jematdar's party of horse, and some sepoys, to protect him from the colleries, (marauders,) who were sometimes troublesome; and on the evening of the 26th, he reached Darapuram, where he heard a false report of two hundred of the enemy's horse hovering about, and informed Mr. Sullivan that Roschen Chan, Tippoo's commander in Coimbetoor, waited to know the number of his followers before he sent his passport. "The district of Darapuram," he says, "is delightful and fertile, with a great deal of small grain on the ground. The inhabitants have left the

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place: but Lieutenant Tolfrey, who came with me, is ordered to collect grain. I translated the orders which promise protection, and all possible encouragement to the inhabitants, into the Malabar language, and went out yesterday, and assured the few people to be met with, of the best treatment. They seemed to be pleased. Some were soon seen, and others expected. The Fort is destroyed, and the houses quite pulled down. It is amazing how so many houses were so totally destroyed in so short a time."

In his next letter, Swartz pointedly expresses his astonishment at the unexpected, and, as he evidently thought, the impolitic orders sent by the Madras commissioners to Colonel Fullarton, to restore the places which he had lately reduced, which checked him in the midst of his successful career.

"Camp, in sight of Coimbetoor, Dec. 30, 1783.

"Dear Sir,—This morning, early, I saw the army, and, to my surprise, marching. Not long after, I had the pleasure of seeing Colonel Fullarton. With him I went to the place which they had marked out for encamping. He told me that he had received strict orders to quit Palacatcherry, Coimbetoor, and of course the whole rich crop, which, as to the Sirkar* share, would have sufficed to maintain the whole army for a year, nay, more than that. I asked him whither he was to move. He replied, 'To Dindegal,' &c. 'Alas!' said I, 'is the peace so certain that you quit all, before the negotiation is ended? The possession of these two rich countries would have kept Tippoo in awe, and would have inclined him to give you reasonable terms. But you quit the reins, and how will you manage that beast?' The Colonel said, 'I could not help it. I have written in strong terms to government,' &c. Just now I write a letter to Roschen Chan. When that is sent off, I shall converse with the Colonel, and then give you the sum of all. The letters which I have brought, he is now reading, and particularly those proposals sent to me, with your observations. But as you have given up Palacatcherry and Coimbetoor, I look upon those proposals almost as ineffectual. But perhaps things

* Government.

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may be better than I at present think. If so, I shall be happy in rejecting my mistaken fancy.

"Coimbetoor is truly a pleasant country. The inhabitants, I hear, were much pleased with the mild treatment they met with from Colonel Fullarton."

In a letter from Darapuram, dated January 22, 1784, Swartz informs Mr. Sullivan of his leaving the camp, and going to Roschen Chan, and from him to Panden Palleam, where he was again detained a day and a half. From thence he advanced to Sattimungalum, a fort near the pass. Here the killedar refused to permit him to proceed any farther without an express order from Tippoo, which it would require ten days to receive. He was under the necessity of submitting, and accordingly waited eleven days in the Fort, without being allowed to walk out, or take the air. At length, the killedar said he could obtain no order; and Swartz was, in consequence, obliged to return to Roschen Chan. Before he reached that officer, Navas Beg, succeeded to the command, and sent to say that he was sorry he had been stopped, and that he might now go through the pass.

"This is the short story," he adds, "of my disappointment. Some say, that as the peace was concluded, Tippoo did not wish to have more people come to him. Others have different conjectures, with which it would be improper to trouble you. I am sorry that the whole intention of Lord Macartney and yours, and, I may add, mine, has been frustrated. However, if a solid peace be concluded, no matter who was present or absent. To-morrow I shall leave this place, and I hope to wait on you in eight days. May a merciful God direct all negotiation to the welfare of this poor distressed country!

"The gentlemen commissioners have been called by Tippoo to the other coast at Mangalore, where he still is."

From Dindegal, on the 30th of January, Swartz wrote to Mr. Sullivan that he had been detained some days on account of parties of Tippoo's horse being on the road, and making depredations; which did not look, he said, very friendly; that Captain Maitland wrote to Navas Beg not to molest the people; who answered, that the English having given up Darapuram, had now nothing to do with the people, and complaining that we had not kept our word in delivering up Palacatcherry.

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"For my part," he says, "I wish we had never promised; or if we had, that we had kept it strictly. The reproach of breaking promises becomes loud and general.

"May God bless you in all respects!" He then adds with admirable foresight and prudence; "As it is not improbable that hostilities may still be carried on, it would be very good if the king of Tanjore would hasten the cutting of the paddy as much as possible."

Such was the unexpected termination of this second intended expedition to Seringapatam. It was, however, the occasion of the following distinguished testimony to the singular excellence and value of Swartz's character from Colonel Fullarton, who thus mentions his visit to the army which he commanded, in a letter to the government of Madras.

"On our second march we were visited by the Rev. Mr. Swartz, whom your Lordship and the Board requested to proceed as a faithful interpreter between Tippoo and the commissioners. The knowledge and the integrity of this irreproachable missionary have retrieved the character of Europeans from imputations of general depravity. A respectable escort attended him to the nearest encampment of the enemy, but he was stopped at Sattimungalum, and returned to Tanjore. I rejoice, however, that he undertook the business; for his journal, which has been before your board, evinces that the southern army acted towards our enemies with a mildness seldom experienced by friends in moments of pacification. From him, also, you learned, that this conduct operated on the minds of the inhabitants, who declare that we afforded them more secure protection than the commanders of their own troops."*

On the 4th of February Swartz returned in health and safety to Tanjore.

The anxiety of Lord Macartney that Swartz should be present at the negotiations at Mangalore, induced him to direct an application to be made to Tippoo Sultan, to grant him a pass, who in reply expressed himself in the following words:—

* View of the British Interests in India.

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"Agreeably to your desire, I have sent orders to the amildars of Sattimungalum to permit the Rev. Mr. Swartz to go to you through their districts."

The select committee at Fort St. George, in communicating this letter to the resident at Tanjore, observe, "We entertain a hope that this second attempt to join the commissioners may be attended with better success, more particularly if Mr. Swartz were to take the route of Tellicherry; we are thus earnest on this point, as we are of opinion that great advantage may result to the negotiations from Mr. Swartz's assistance, his knowledge of the language, and his distinguished integrity."

The following letter to his friends at Vellore explains his reasons for declining a second attempt to reach the commissioners, and gives some account both of his recent journey, and of his own feelings during this trying period.

"Tanjore, March 4, 1784.

"Hitherto a gracious God has preserved, guided, and comforted us. This is, and ought to be, our first consideration in the midst of all the calamities which we have experienced. How many dangers have we escaped—how many of our fellow-creatures fell on our right hand and on our left; but God has hid us under the pavilion of his kind providence! The 103d Psalm should be precious to us; for it expresses and magnifies all the divine benefits which God has so richly bestowed upon us. But not only in words ought we to express our gratitude, but in and by our lives. Surely God deserves to be obeyed by us, particularly as we only reap the benefit of it.

"I heartily wished to see you, and I entertained a lively hope, that in my return from the Mysore country I should meet you. But God has been pleased to lead me by another road."

Here he mentions his late expedition, his detention by Tippoo's officers, and his return to Darapuram. He then continues:

"To this day I do not know the reason why I was not permitted to proceed. One said it was because Tippoo would not treat till Mangalore was in his possession. Some entertained other conjectures. I thank God for his mercy and providence over me. I should have been very

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glad if I could have been an instrument in that great work of peace-making. But who knows but there might have been temptations too great for me? In short, whatever God does is right, and the best for us. After my return, the governor desired that I would take a second trip by the way of Tellicherry; but having a severe scorbutic eruption on my legs, I found myself unable to go —I therefore declined it. Even now I am not free from that complaint. But if I had made another attempt, I could not have forced my way to Tippoo. If he refused to admit me, what could I do? Two refusals I met with. I wrote first from Tanjore, and the second time from Sattimungalum. To spend my time in roving about the country to little or no purpose was disagreeable. If government had sent me with the commissioners, I should have attended them. I entreat God to bless them with wisdom, resolution and integrity, to settle the business to the welfare of this poor country. But alas! we ourselves are so divided—one pulls one way, the other quite a different one. When one considers all, high and low, rich and poor, rulers and those that are ruled, one is struck with grief, and a variety of passions. What blindness, insensibility, and obstinacy, greediness, and rapaciousness!—a thousand times I think with myself, 'Must all these people *die*—must they all give a strict account of their lives—must they all appear before the tribunal of Jesus, the mediator and judge? How little do they mind their end, and the consequences of their lives!'

"But, however, in spite of all these horrid confusions, which are so prevalent upon earth, God has some likewise, who serve him faithfully though imperfectly. This morning we read the fourteenth chapter of the Revelation; wherein Jesus is represented as the lamb sacrificed for us, and our redemption, and with him 144,000, who had the name of God written on their foreheads. O that *we* may openly and sincerely confess the name of our God on all occasions! They were singing a new song, (and should not new mercies require a new song?) No one could learn that song save those 144,000. Whoever gives his heart to the world will never be able to praise God sincerely. Surely every true believer gives his whole heart to the Lord Jesus. Those blessed ones follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. This is the sure evidence of our

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believing in Jesus. They at least do not adulterate the word of God. All the world is upon that scheme. Every one wishes to explain it according to his inclination—but that is pernicious. Let us then accept of the word of God, take it, use it, and practise it as it lies before us, even when it desires us to mortify our beloved sins. My sincere wish and prayer is, that you and I may be found true disciples of Jesus, and so at last rejoice with him eternally."

The English commissioners, after a tedious and harassing journey, were conducted from Seringapatam to Mangalore, where, amidst much studied mortification and insult, they at length succeeded in concluding a treaty of peace with Tippoo, on the 11th of March, 1784.

"The goodness and mercy of God towards us," thus Mr. Swartz gratefully writes upon this occasion to professor Freylinghausen, "have been unspeakably great during the whole of the war, and to the present moment. It is indeed of the Lord's mercies that we have not been consumed."

To another of his friends about this time he wrote as follows:—

"The war with Hyder and his son Tippoo, is now ended. But notwithstanding, the misery is still great. Tippoo is augmenting his army every day. He is a much more enterprising soldier than his father. Every commandant who surrendered a fortress to the English he ordered to be hung. Having carried twelve thousand children captive from Tanjore, he compelled them all to become Mohammedans. He has done every thing in his power to exterminate the Malabar Roman Catholics, in which he has so far succeeded, that no one dares to call himself a Christian. He will not have any subjects except such as are either heathens or Mohammedans. As for the former, they are almost entirely devoid of feeling; they hear the doctrines of the gospel explained, and even applaud them, and yet go on in their old way, as if they had heard nothing about it. Some brahmins lately said to me, 'We have no objection to hear these things; but heavenly objects do not make much impression upon us.' This avowal is certainly too true; and they are moreover

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so timid, that they would not dare to profess the faith of Christ before their relations. This is truly stony ground, which requires much seed, and returns but little fruit."

In the spring of this year, Swartz suffered considerably from weakness and exhaustion; and though he performed his various duties as usual, he was advised to try the effect of a journey to the coast for the restoration of his health. It is to these circumstances that he refers in the following truly apostolic letter to his friends at Vellore.

"Katternate, near Tanjore, July 10, 1784.

"My dear Friends,—It is a long time since I had the pleasure of addressing you. Illness has prevented me. I can hardly describe to you the nature of my weakness. I felt no pain, but such a relaxation in my frame, that speaking, walking, &c. fatigued me, so that often I could scarcely stand. This I felt during April and May. When we were favored with some refreshing showers, I revived a little; and at present I am much better, though still weak. But enough of this. Age comes upon me: I have no reason therefore to wonder at weakness.

"If the mind be sound, all is well; the rest we shall quit when we enter into the grave. That will cure all our bodily indispositions. On this subject I meditate frequently. And, O! may God grant me grace to do it more effectually, that I may number my (perhaps very few) days. Eternity is an awful subject, which should be continually in our mind.

"I know, I feel it, that I have no righteousness of my own, whereon I would dare to depend for eternal happiness. If God should enter with me into judgment, what would become of me? But blessed, for ever blessed, be the adorable mercy of God, which has provided a sure expedient for guilty man. The atonement of Jesus is the foundation of my hope, peace, love and happiness. Though I am covered all over with sin, the blood of Jesus cleanseth me from all mine iniquities, and sets my heart at rest. Though I am a corrupted creature, the Spirit of Jesus enlighteneth, cheereth, and strengtheneth us to hate and abominate all sin, and to renounce the lusts of the world and the flesh. Though the day of judgment is approaching, the love of God comforts us so far as to

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have boldness to appear before our Judge; not as if we were innocent creatures, but because we are pardoned, washed, and cleansed in the blood of Christ.

"O! my dear friends, an interest in the atonement of Jesus, and a participation in the graces of his Spirit; these constitute a Christian, these cheer and strengthen the heart, these glorify God, and prepare for heaven.

"Let us daily, therefore, come before God through the blessed Jesus; but let us, at the same time, not neglect the second point, viz. our sanctification. Our time is short. Within some days, I have sojourned in this country thirty-four years. The end of my journey is, even according to the course of nature, near. May I not flag! May my last days be the best! But as long as we live together upon earth, let us admonish and stir up one another.

"Remember me to Mrs. F——, and tell her not to overvalue the pleasures of the world, but to let her mind feed on pleasures which are substantial and permanent. I am to take a journey near the sea. Perhaps the sea-air may brace me up a little. I shall remember you in my poor paternosters, and, if I can, send you another line from the sea-shore. Farewell! May grace, peace, and divine mercy follow you at all times!"

Soon after the date of the preceding letter, Mr. Sullivan requested Swartz to accompany him into the Marawar country, as he was afraid of trusting to a native interpreter. To this he willingly acceded, both on account of his health, and as it would afford him many opportunities of preaching to the natives. It was in the course of this journey that Mr. Sullivan took occasion to suggest to him a plan, the tendency of which seemed to be eminently calculated to promote the moral improvement of the natives, and ultimately the diffusion of Christianity in India.

"At Ramanadapuram,"* he writes, "the conversation turned on the education of youth. Mr. Sullivan observed, that it might be of great importance to establish English schools in every province. 'In the first place,' he said, 'the children and the parents, through their means, would

* Ramanad is the greater Marawar.

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become better acquainted with the principles and habits of Christians, and their obstinate attachment to their own customs would be shaken. The schoolmasters, if pious men, would exhibit the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, both to children and parents; a freer intercourse would be opened between natives and Europeans; and the children being instructed in the English language, would not need to rely on deceitful interpreters.' The proposal was highly agreeable to me, though I foresaw great difficulties in the execution of it. I asked where we should obtain schoolmasters; to which he answered, that a seminary should be erected at Tanjore for their education, and several active young men should be sent for from Germany. On inquiring who would be at the charge of their salaries, he replied, 'The petty princes of the provinces;' and observed, that it would be much better if a small village were granted for the purpose. Accordingly, we spoke to the rajah of Ramanadapuram on the subject. 'It would be an excellent plan,' said he, 'and I wish there were such schools in every village.' His minister promised to explain the case, as it related to the salary, to his master. We therefore said no more on that point. On further consideration, however, he thought it more advisable to obtain a written promise from the rajah to settle a sum on the school, to be paid every month; and to this he readily consented."

From Ramanadapuram Swartz preceeded to Shevagunga,* where he made a similar proposal to the principal man of the place, who also approved it, and promised to give a village for the support of a schoolmaster. Lord Macartney, and the nabob of Arcot were afterwards made acquainted with the scheme, and both highly commended it.

On his return to Tanjore Mr. Sullivan addressed the king upon this interesting subject, in the presence of Swartz. His highness consented that such a school as they recommended should be established in or near the Fort, promising to allow forty pagodas (£16) a month for its support. Mr. Sullivan then appointed a salary of £60 to a schoolmaster, conceiving that with less he would not be able to maintain himself.

* The lesser Marawar.

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"Every year," adds Mr. Swartz, "the missionary at Tanjore or Trichinopoly must visit these schools; of course the expenses of such a journey must be defrayed from the fund; and if something remain, as we hope, some soldier's children or orphans should be freely educated and maintained."

The journey to Ramanadapuram proved very beneficial to his health; and in the month of September following, for the purpose of promoting the proposed plan of English schools, he proceeded to Tondi, on the coast of Coromandel. From this place he wrote, on the 20th, to Mr. Sullivan, as follows:—

"If you should find an opportunity of being an advocate for orphans, I know you will not forget it. If you think it proper to present my respects to Lord Macartney, I request you to do it. You are the best judge of it. *Cura ut valeas.* Your health, I hope, and am persuaded, will be a blessing not only to yourself, but to the public also."

In a second letter from Tondi, on the 29th of September, he mentions that the military commander had cut down more than a thousand Palmeira trees for building bungalows for the troops. "The natives," he says, "wept; these trees forming a dowry for their daughters." He therefore proposes a small compensation, to be paid by Colonel F——, not to the sirkar, but with his own hands.

"I am happy," he adds, "to hear that your health is rather mending. *Ex animo opto precorque ut animus sit sanus in corpore sano.** Take care of both—body as well as soul. Remember me to your friends. Yours are mine."

On his return to Tanjore in October, he informed Mr. Sullivan, who was then absent, that he had received an answer from the Pradani of Ramanad, stating that the rajah had resolved to allow for the proposed school, monthly, twenty-four pagodas. "Whether this will meet with your approbation or not," he says, "I know not. Some people think that a monthly payment is uncertain,

* "I heartily desire and pray, that you may possess a vigorous mind in a healthy body."

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and a sort of monthly begging, attended with trouble, and struck off as soon as they are tired. The Shevagunga man has written to me that he would make a small addition. However, I hope all will be better settled when you return to us. May God establish your health, and bless you with peace and cheerfulness of mind!"

Early in December, he communicated to Mr. Sullivan the report of an intended invasion, on the part of Tippoo, and suggested the expediency of purchasing paddy, in order to be prepared. He then adds, "I have got a new congregation. I mean the soldiers at Wallam, whom I am desired to visit. As often as I come, they receive me in a friendly manner, and attend divine worship decently, and take tracts. Nay, some learn to read; for which good purpose I have supplied them with spelling-books. I have read the Sketch of English Government, translated by Mr. F——. At present, this paper would do no good. Times ought to be more undisturbed for such a publication. This I merely refer to you.

"Here we have no rain; and therefore a dismal prospect. The small grain withers away; the paddy likewise looks ill. It seems as if God intended to punish this country again. And who can say any thing against his judgments? Every one has reason to humble himself. Nay, the people begin to suspect Tippoo's intentions. May God have mercy on this poor nation, and spare them kindly!"

At the close of this year, Mr. Swartz addressed the following interesting letter to one of his valued friends at Vellore, who had requested his opinion as to some well-known writers of our church. After referring to his young friend, J. Kohlhoff, who had written to inform them of his recent journeys, and had assured them that, notwithstanding his advanced age, he performed his various duties with the same vigor and ability which he had manifested ten years before, he proceeds as follows:—

"At present, I am so far established in health, that my labor is rather delightful to me than troublesome, which was not the case in April and May. May God, who has bestowed so many blessings on me, a poor sinner,

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grant that the last days of my life may be well spent; that I may finish my course with peace, if not with joy.

"We are not only allowed, but even commanded to 'rejoice in the Lord.' No joy has so good and firm a foundation, as that which is to be found in the Lord, who has bought us, redeemed us, and prepared for us all true happiness. Shall we not rejoice in his salvation, pardon, peace, strength, and kingdom? But whoever wishes to rejoice in the blessings purchased for us by Jesus Christ, must be in him, closely united to him, renouncing sin, and all the false pleasures of the world, and hungering and thirsting after him. This true union and communion with Jesus is the source of joy—the only source. From hence will follow a willingness to love, serve, obey, and glorify him as long as we live. Is it possible that we, who have found pardon, peace, and a lively hope of a glorious eternity in Jesus; that we, who have been made happy by him, should not wish and endeavor to live to his glory?

"But if instead of trusting in Jesus, and his consummate atonement, we trust and rely on our own virtue, and consequently stand upon our own foundation, we shall never enjoy a moment's peace and unshaken delight. Our virtue and holiness are, and must remain, imperfect. We shall, therefore, always have reason to confess before God, 'If thou wilt mark in my thoughts, designs, intentions, what is amiss, Lord, who shall stand before thee?' Let us, therefore, seek for pardon, peace, and joy in Jesus; and having found that, let us be grateful and obedient. But though we should be as holy as any of the apostles, let us beware lest we put our confidence in any thing but the sufferings and atoning death of Jesus Christ.

"In this grand fundamental article of true Christianity, I like none so much as good Bishop Beveridge. He forgets not to raise the superstructure of holiness; but he lays first the foundation in a true and lively trust in Jesus, as Paul likewise has done. Read Philippians iii. In the explanation of holiness, Archbishop Tillotson is excellent; but he does not so well, so clearly lay the foundation as Beveridge, Hervey, and the first reformers. When thou comfortest my heart, then, and not till then, shall I run in the way of thy commandments. The divine commandments, well and spiritually considered, will con-

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vince us of our sinfulness and corruption, and, of course, condemn us. (Rom. vii.) Being condemned by the law, as servants who owe to their Lord ten thousand talents, how shall we pay off our debt? By the few pence of our own virtue? No; but by the complete atonement made by Jesus Christ. This atonement of Jesus is offered in the gospel to every one who knows and feels his sinfulness, and wishes to be delivered from the curse he has deserved by it. To those who feel the burden of their sins, and groan under it, how inexpressibly sweet is and must be that tender invitation of Christ, (Matt. xi.,) 'Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest;' by taking the burden from you.

"That you and your dear husband may rejoice in Jesus, here and in a blessed eternity, is the sincere wish of your old friend,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"P. S.—Pray let us know how your school goes on. Are there some of the black people who profess Christianity? Is there any one who instructs them?

"As to the Malabar church which I have been building in the suburbs, General Munro encouraged me, by giving me fifty pagodas. But when I found that the stones which I needed for the foundation, cost twenty-five pagodas, without chunam,* I thought I should soon stop my mill for want of water; but the rajah having given me some gold cloths at the time of Lord Pigot's arrival, when the general was lately here, I took them to the merchants, who, to my agreeable surprise, valued them at one hundred and thirty-six pagodas; so that I could prosecute my plan without interruption. I hope that God, who has so graciously furnished me with the means of building a house of prayer, will fill it also with spiritual children, to the praise of his name. He is strong who hath promised us such glorious things. Read for that purpose my favorite chapter of Isaiah, xlix. verses 4—7, 18—20. I cheerfully believe that God 'will build the waste places' of this country. But should it be done after we are laid in the grave, what harm? This country is covered with thorns; let us plough and sow good seed, and entreat

* Stucco.

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the Lord to make it spring up. Our labor in the Lord, in his cause and for his glory, will not be in vain."

The conclusion of the preceding letter, in which Mr. Swartz, with so much simplicity, mentions the disinterested liberality with which he contributed to the fund for building a church for the native Christians in the suburbs of Tanjore, may with propriety direct our attention to his character as a preacher. His religious principles, and even his views of Christian doctrine, have been already amply developed, both in the extracts from his missionary journals, and in the letters to his friends, in the former chapters of this memoir. Swartz himself published nothing, either in the form of sermons, or any other religious instruction, except the Dialogues between a Christian and a Heathen, which have been already mentioned,* as translated into the Mahratta language. His original destination, and his principal employment, as a missionary, requiring chiefly catechetical instruction, and the simple exposition of Scripture, the elaborate composition of discourses for the pulpit never formed a part of his stated occupation. Though from the period of his residence at Trichinopoly he was engaged in preaching to the British troops in garrison at that place, and afterwards at Tanjore, it was only occasionally that he wrote his sermons at length.

His pulpit remains, like every thing connected with his character, are marked by the most perfect simplicity; but, at the same time, by an energy of thought, and frequently by a vigor of expression, which prove at once the sincerity and the efficacy of his religion. One grand subject pervaded his sermons, as it formed the prevailing theme of his correspondence and his ministerial labors—the gospel of Christ, as the only and all-sufficient remedy for the guilt and misery of fallen man; the love of God, in sending his Son to save us; the love of Christ, in dying for us; pardon and peace through faith in the atoning blood of the cross, that faith "working by love" to God and man, purifying the heart, and overcoming the world; producing, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, true happiness even here, and animating the Christian with a lively and

* See p. 180.

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joyful hope of perfect and eternal blessedness hereafter. Such was the cheering, intelligible, and scriptural view which Swartz invariably presented of Christian doctrine. The incidental references to his ministerial instructions, which occur in his letters and journals, show how diligently he labored in filling up this outline with the details of principle and precept, and how wisely he adapted his exhortations to the peculiar character and condition of his hearers.

The very few of his surviving friends who remembered Swartz in the pulpit, represent his appearance and manner as remarkably simple and unaffected, but energetic and impressive; using, like the apostle to the Gentiles, "great plainness of speech," but speaking also like him, "in demonstration of the Spirit and of power," and "by manifestation of the truth commending himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God;" while equally with the great apostle, "speaking the truth in love," out of the fullness of a heart penetrated by the mercies of the gospel, and habitually glowing with Christian kindness, he succeeded in conciliating the confidence and affection of his hearers, and vindicated his claim to the character of true wisdom by winning many souls to the faith and hope of the gospel.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Introduction and progress of Protestant Christianity in Tinnevelly—Journey to Ramanadapuram and Palamcotta—Letter to a friend of Mr. Chambers—Provincial Schools—Communication to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Letters to Mrs. Duffin and Mrs. Chambers; a second to Mr. Chambers's friend—Retrospect of the year 1786—Wretched state of the rajah and kingdom of Tanjore—Committee of inspection for the affairs of that country, appointed by Sir Archibald Campbell, of which Swartz is requested to become a member—Their proceedings—Beneficial influence of Swartz with the people of Tanjore—The Madras Government expresses its high sense of the value of his services—Swartz requests the Society to receive his young friend Mr. J. Kohlhoff as one of their missionaries.

It is uncertain at what period the district of Tinnevelly in the south of the Peninsula was first visited by the Protestant missionaries. The Roman Catholics had long been numerous, and it is not improbable that some of the early converts at Tranquebar may have carried thither the knowledge of purer evangelical truth. The first notice of this part of the country in the journals of Swartz, occurs in the year 1771, and is as follows :—

"At Palamcotta, a fort and one of the chief towns of Tinnevelly, about two hundred miles from Trichinopoly, there resides a Christian of our congregation, Schavrimuttu, who having been instructed, reads the word of God to the resident Romish and heathens. And an English sergeant, whose wife is a member of our congregation, has in a manner taken up the cause. A young heathen accountant had heard the truth with satisfaction. He was once here, (at Trichinopoly,) listened to all that was represented from the word of God in silence, and promised

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to place himself under further instruction. The sergeant made him learn the five principle articles of the catechism, and then baptized him. It grieved us that he should have baptized the young man before he had attained a distinct knowledge of Christianity. Besides, such an inconsiderate step might prove injurious both to the heathens and Roman Catholics. May God mercifully avert all evil!"

A few years after the time at which the circumstances thus related, took place, Mr. Swartz visited the neighborhood of Palamcotta, when the widow of a brahmin applied to him to be baptized; but as she was then living with an English officer, he told her that while she continued that illicit connection, he could not comply with her request. It appears, however, that the officer had privately promised to marry her; and in the mean time, he was instructing her in the English language, and even in the principles of Christianity. After his death, she renewed her application to Swartz, and as her conduct was then perfectly correct, he baptized her by the name of Clarinda. She continued to reside in the south of India; but at the conclusion of the late war, she and two Roman Catholic Christians from the same quarter came to Tanjore. One of these persons had obtained a copy of the New Testament, and of the Ecclesiastical History published by the missionaries at Tranquebar,* which he read with so much effect, that he was not only himself convinced of the errors of the church of Rome, but testified against them so strongly that many around him were much impressed by his representations. He and his fellow-traveller now visited Mr. Swartz, and entreated that a missionary or native assistant might come and teach them more perfectly. He accordingly sent one of his catechists to Palamcotta, to instruct the rising congregation in that neighborhood. The zealous female convert just mentioned, with the assistance of one or two English gentlemen, built a small but neat church at that place; and from this period the attention of Swartz was anxiously directed to a quarter in which the congregations of Christians have since become so numerous and so prosperous.

In a letter, dated in September, 1785, and commu-

* See Introductory Sketch, p. 32.

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nicated to the Society for Promoting Christian knowledge, by the Rev. Mr. Pasche, Swartz writes, that he was just returned from an official journey, which had occupied him between two and three months. He first proceeded to Ramanadapuram, for the purpose of instituting the English provincial school there; which he accomplished. The beginning was made with ten young persons. The reigning prince and his minister sent their children to the school, of which Mr. Wheatley from Tanjore was appointed master. At this place, according to his invariable practice, he embraced the opportunity of preaching the gospel to all descriptions of persons. From thence, after touching at Tutukurin, and preaching to the Dutch there on St. Mark viii. 36, he went to Palamcotta; staid there three weeks, preached twice, sometimes three times a day; explained the principal doctrines of Christianity, and administered the sacrament to eighty persons. He found the state of this new congregation in many respects to his satisfaction, while in others, he frankly acknowledged, it occasioned him concern. "But this," he justly observes, "is no more than what are usually united together, wheat and chaff."

It was during this journey that he addressed the following interesting and instructive letter to an intimate friend and connection of Mr. Chambers, then in the civil service of Bengal, and distinguished during a long and honorable life in India and in England, not less by his eminent talents and acquirements as a leading member of the East Indian government, than by his elevated and consistent character as a Christian.* It appears that he was at this time just entering upon a religious course; and nothing could be better calculated to confirm and encourage him than this admirable letter.

"Ramanadapuram, July 20, 1785.

"Dear Sir,—Your very kind letter I received two months ago, and should have answered it sooner, had not some circumstances prevented it.

"Your first awakening was a most agreeable and heart-reviving transaction of divine Providence. So kind

* Probably the late Hon. Charles Grant.—*Am. Ed.*

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is God, even when he chastiseth. I believe there are very few in heaven, but owe their conversion or their continuance in that state to some stroke or other. Blessed be God for all his mercies which he has bestowed on us! Nay, throughout all eternity we shall praise him for all the wonders he has done towards us.

"Even in respect of temporal affairs, your conversion has been, as I observe, beneficial to you; and so would every one experience it, if the trial were fairly made. How much is squandered away in what is called fashionable living, to no purpose, or rather to the worst! Health, strength, conscience, and the sweetest sense of the favor of God are lost—for what? Though we are not to serve God for the sake of temporal advantages, we shall find that true unfeigned 'godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.' The people of the world lose both. Their tumultuous mirth does not deserve the name of joy, and is always closely attended and embittered by unspeakable disquietude and anxiety, which they must feel as soon as they begin to reflect. May God strengthen and confirm you by his blessed Spirit, that the good work which he has begun in you, may be carried on uninterruptedly, till you can say at last, 'It is done,—Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit,' and so 'enter into the joy of your Lord.'

"Let us daily grow more and more fervent in prayer. With prayer we begin to be Christians. By prayer we grow stronger, and continue in the narrow road, and at last, praying, we end our course.

"All that we are to pray for, we find in that excellent prayer taught us by our Lord, in which Christianity is regularly delineated or explained, just as it ought to be from the beginning to the end.

"In the first petition we in fact entreat God to turn away our hearts from all vain names, (call them honor, riches, pleasure, or what else you please,) because they all together cannot make us happy. To look upon them as the source of our happiness is idolatry. We entreat God to enlighten our hearts, so that we may know, esteem, venerate, fear, love, and praise his name. This is the truest beginning of our conversion, when all things and their names become little, and the glorious name of God becomes great and venerable to us.

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"The second blessing which we need is the kingdom of God, as it is restored to us by Jesus Christ, containing 'righteousness' to cover all our sins; 'peace,' or a sense of the favor of God, who is now our Father, and we his children; and 'joy in the Holy Ghost.' 'Thy kingdom, O Father, come,' that we may be no longer separated from thee, as we deserved, but that we may be reunited unto thee, that there may be a happy union between thee and us, as there is between a kind prince and obedient subjects. And is not this true faith in Jesus, which places us again in the kingdom of God our Father?

"Being turned to God and his name, and being made the children of the kingdom of God by faith in Jesus Christ, we crave the third blessing, namely, filial obedience. Having received the two former blessings, we are now willing, and by the Spirit of God strengthened, to renounce and to overcome our own will, (that stubborn thing,) the will of the world, though never so fashionable, and the will of the devil. We now learn daily that most difficult but salutary lesson,—'Not my will, but thine be done.'

"Having thus obtained mercy, we are regenerated and born again. What do we need more? Having begun well by the grace of God, let us be 'strong in the Lord;' let us take care not to *fall* back, but to be constant. To this purpose our compassionate Saviour has taught us to pray,

"1. For our daily bread—to moderate our desires after the things of this world. Godliness and contentment must go together. A very strict discipline is necessary lest the cares of this world enter in again, and choke the good seed.

"2. Though we have reason to rejoice in the Lord, and in the possession and enjoyment of all his mercies, yet we have little or no reason at all to boast and to be proud. Therefore he has directed us to come daily before the throne of grace, deeply humbling ourselves on account of our daily faults, and praying, 'Forgive us our trespasses.' We confess and bewail them, and crave pardon. This humility must remain in us daily.

"3. Being turned to the name of God; being received as his children for the sake of Jesus; being willing to obey the will of God, we are happy, and free from all

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condemnation. But as long as we sojourn here in the world, we are not free from trials. Let us, therefore, daily watch and pray lest we enter and sink into temptation. Let us entreat God not to forsake but strengthen us; that we may, by his grace, be able to overcome all temptations.

"4. Being united to Christ, and consequently being the children of God, we are happy; but this happiness, though very great, is not yet complete. Here is a mixture. Here are knowledge and ignorance, holiness and many faults, peace and uneasiness, health and sickness, joy and grief, together. But we are to receive a complete happiness. In the midst of all calamities and tribulations, be hope our cordial! Let us daily come before the throne of mercy, entreating God to deliver us entirely from all ignorance, from all sin, from all pain and grief; and to receive us into his glorious kingdom, where we shall weep no more—where we shall rejoice for ever and ever; where our prayers and supplications shall be turned into thanksgivings. This hope, if lively, will refresh us.

"There, my dear Mr. —— I hope to see you, and to sing with you the song of the Lamb. There we will relate one to another all the wonders of mercy which Jesus has wrought towards our restoration.

"Be this our aim—and may our hearts (ah, our slippery hearts!) never swerve from the path to that heavenly Canaan! May we never murmur or lust after the things which we have once renounced! May we be faithful unto death, and so receive the crown of life! Remember me likewise, when you come before the throne of mercy, that my approaching age may not be unfruitful, but blessed.

"You and your family are dear to me, because clothed and adorned with the righteousness of Jesus. Peace be to you, and to all that live with you. May they all find mercy on that great day. May they all be numbered with those that shall stand at the right hand of our God!

"I am at present at Ramanad in the Marawar country, where I intend to erect an English school. All seems to be ready. Next Monday we hope to make the beginning. May God bless it! Our intention is to have such schools in several provinces, if God grant peace to this country. The harvest is great, but few are the laborers.

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Well, let us pray to the Lord of the harvest. If amongst Europeans there was any real piety, what blessing would come over the whole country! But they refuse to go into God's vineyard—may God awaken them!

"The kind charity which you intended for the relief of the poor shall be faithfully applied. In their name I thank you. I have inclosed a few lines to my old and sincere friend, Mr. Obeck. He lived once in one of my chambers.* I loved him much, and shall love him till we see one another in a world free from sin and grief."

The sober, scriptural, yet elevated piety, and the genuine Christian affection which breathe throughout the preceding letter, display the character of Swartz in a most favorable point of view, and sufficiently reveal the sources of his extraordinary influence and usefulness in India. Any thing more truly apostolic can scarcely be imagined. The following letter, written shortly afterwards to a gentleman whom he was anxious to persuade to adopt religious habits, equally discovers his wisdom and faithfulness as a Christian monitor.

"Tanjore, Sept. 28, 1785.

"Dear Sir,—I am happy to hear that you will not come by yourself. You know the usual consequences attending a bachelor's life. But being now in a lawful state, instituted by God himself, take care lest that state prove a snare. In itself it is lawful, and ordained by God for wise reasons. But you know that Adam resembled his Maker before he entered into that state. The husband must be filled with knowledge, wisdom, holiness, and all other divine graces: then will he be able to govern his family wisely to the glory of God. In such a gay place as Madras, where daily dissipations run away with all time and strength, it is doubly necessary to be upon your guard. Never forget to keep up family prayer in your house; make it a house of God, and it will be distinguished by divine blessings.

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* This circumstance is alluded to by Dr. Buchanan, in a letter to a friend, with the interesting addition that he often concealed from that good man "his favored seasons from on high."—*Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 274.

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"At present people read all sorts of novels and other trash. If you wish to be happy, and to act wisely, I entreat you READ YOUR BIBLE with your consort. You will soon find the greatest advantage resulting from it.

"Make my best respects to Mrs. ——, and tell her that I heartily wish she may be like Sarah, Abraham's wife; like Hannah, Samuel's mother; and like those excellent females, who were not ashamed to follow Jesus, even when he was crucified. My best wishes attend you and your family."

During his stay at Ramanadapuram, Swartz had an interview with the reigning prince, and met with a very kind reception. But on his return, he found all in terror and alarm, in consequence of a change of government. The nabob was about to repossess himself of that province, notwithstanding that during the late war he had invested the present prince as the rightful heir, and had caused him to be proclaimed sovereign of the country. Swartz laments in his letter to Mr. Pasche that such faithless and perfidious proceedings, which had nearly ruined the country, were still continued, and observes that this change might extend its influence to the new institution of the English provincial schools; so that he doubted whether they would receive proper support, or be abandoned.

In his annual letter to the Society, dated from Trichinopoly, January 16, 1786, Swartz gratefully acknowledges the perfect health which he and his fellow-laborers had enjoyed during the preceding year, and the uninterrupted performance of their important duties. He had come to Trichinopoly for the purpose of consulting with his friend and brother, Mr. Pohlé, upon points relating to the mission, and of visiting the congregation and schools. At this time, he informs the Society, that besides his young friend Mr. Kohlhoff, who was his willing assistant, and whom he intimated his wish of seeing established as his colleague, he maintained three catechists and one schoolmaster at Tanjore, one catechist at Trippatore, and three at Palamcotta. The Tamul school at Tanjore then consisted of twenty-two children, who were daily instructed in Christian principles, in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and some of them, at their own request, in the

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English language. Of the English school, Mr. Kohlhoff and his brother, and a young native, had the care. In this there were generally about forty boys and girls. Besides learning the English, they were exercised also in the Persian and Tamul languages. Most of these children being the offspring of soldiers, being poor, were educated gratis.

"In some of my last letters," he observes, "I have mentioned that an English school was established in Ramanadapuram, and that another has been proposed at Shevagenga. We even entertained lively hopes of seeing more of these schools in other places. But when the country was restored to the nabob, these pleasing expectations nearly vanished. The old system, of oppression, was resumed, and the country princes began to tremble. It does not belong to me," he modestly adds, "to write of politics; neither would I have mentioned the subject, had it not been so closely connected with the schools."

The congregation at Palamcotta had increased; and Swartz had lately sent there his catechist, Sattianaden, who had for many years sustained the character of a sincere Christian and an able teacher. The congregation was visited every year by one of the country priests from Tranquebar for the administration of the sacraments.

While thankfully acknowledging the past kindness of the Society, he is urgent, both in this and a subsequent letter, for a fresh supply of books, not only for the native congregations and schools, but also for the soldiers in the garrison, many of whom were anxious for instruction; a request with which the Society, knowing how judiciously they would be distributed, cheerfully complied.

While thus adverting to the various charitable labors of this excellent man, it may not be irrelevant to observe, that for a considerable space of time, during the late war, he forbore, on account of the public distress, to draw the pay which was due to him as chaplain to the garrison. Mr. Hudleston, in communicating this circumstance to the government, observes, "Mr. Swartz makes no other use of money than to appropriate it to the purposes of charity and benevolence."

During his short stay at Trichinopoly, he wrote the following letter to Mrs. Duffin; the principal topic of which proves how well he could avail himself of incidental circumstances to illustrate and enforce religious truth.

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"Trichinopoly, January 19, 1786.

"Dear Madam,—A few days ago I came hither to visit my friend Mr. Pohlé. One afternoon I went with him to Warriore, to see your house and garden, where we have spent many a Saturday in a very agreeable manner. Coming near your house, Mr. Pohlé put me in mind of my shameful neglect. 'You have not,' said he, 'written a line to Mr. and Mrs. Duffin for above a year.' Hearing the number of months, for he counted them, I was truly struck with confusion. Though I have but few hours to spare, still I might have written some few lines. Well, pardon this neglect kindly. I have not written, but I have remembered you very often, wishing to spend some hours with you. I was very glad when your schoolmaster informed me, that Mr. Gerické had paid you a visit, for he is a sincere Christian, whom I have always much esteemed.

"When I came here, I thought to rejoice with Mr. Pohlé; but we soon experienced grief instead of joy. A battalion mutinied; went upon the rock, and threatened destruction, if they should not get their pay. These poor people had received none since August; consequently five months' pay was due to them, besides former arrears. It is truly melancholy to observe that nothing but fear will incline us to do justice to them. By these means all discipline is relaxed, the officers lose that respect which is due to their rank and station, and the sepoys become insolent. This has been the case, not only in war, but now in the time of peace. May God help us to consider the things which belong to our peace in all respects!

"In the world we have tribulation. This has been from the time mankind fell into sin, and will be so, till we enter into the peaceful mansions of the saints and angels in eternity. Having, then, little or no peace in the world, let us take care to have, maintain, and enjoy peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

"What an immense blessing is it to have peace with God! When we reflect on our miserable hearts, so prone to sin and iniquity, we might think that it was altogether impossible to possess that inestimable treasure. And no doubt, if it depended on our perfect obedience, we could not entertain a thought of enjoying it. But blessed be

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God, our peace and happiness stand on a better basis than that of our own merit.

"It is Jesus, the blessed Redeemer, who has made an atonement, a perfect atonement for our sins, and thereby laid the foundation for a complete reconciliation between us and God. Without this divine atonement we could not expect pardon and peace. God would not be to us a God of grace, but rather 'a consuming fire.' What praises, then, are due to Jesus, the purchaser of our peace and happiness! The nearer we keep to him, the more we enjoy of that peace. The more we trust in ourselves, so much the more we shall be perplexed. Nothing keeps and preserves our minds so much as this peace. The thunder of the law may frighten, but it will never compose or strengthen our minds to obey God cheerfully.

"Let us, then, daily look out for pardon and peace; watching at the same time that we may follow its guidance —that so our reason, our will, and all our passions (aye, and our external senses too,) may be preserved in subjection, obedience, and the path of holiness.

"Remember me to Mr. Duffin, our beloved friend. Mr. Pohlé tells me that he has written to you, inclosing a Portuguese calendar.

"May, then, the peace of God, in this year, and as we live, cheer, guide, and strengthen us all!

"I am always, dear Madam, your faithful friend and servant."

In his next letter to the same highly esteemed correspondent, Mr. Swartz took occasion to communicate his view of the Christian Sabbath; which from his intimate knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and his eminently devout habits, well deserves the most serious attention.

"Tanjore, March 26, 1786.

"Dear Madam,—Your kind letter I received yesterday, and as my heart is warm, and cheered by the good news you have sent me, I will by no means delay to answer it.

"I rejoice with you, that it has pleased God to make your Sabbaths more satisfactory to you. Formerly you got now and then some showers of the divine benediction. Now you will enjoy it every Sunday.

"I need not tell you, that the institution of the Sabbath

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is altogether divine, and therefore holy and beneficial. It is a cheering proof of God's kindness to us. It was instituted before the fall, to preserve Adam and Eve in their wisdom, holiness, and justice—consequently to confirm them in that divine likeness, which God had granted them. By this you plainly perceive, that his intention was to preserve them in their purity and happiness. Adam was the teacher, Eve the disciple—both adored God every day, but particularly on the Sabbath. Happy couple!

"Was the celebration of the Sabbath necessary before the fall, how much more *now* after it, to awaken the mind to a lively knowledge of God, to increase in knowledge, faith, love, and hope of everlasting life! No doubt we are to attend to all this every day; but particularly to set our mind to it on every Sabbath day.

"On that day we are to exclude worldly thoughts as much as possible, even those that are allowable on other days. The works of creation, redemption, and sanctification, ought to be our chief meditation. Likewise ought we also to exclude all worldly conversation, even that which is allowable on other days. It should turn upon the word and works of God. Prayer and edifying converse should be maintained on that day. Moreover, worldly actions (except those of necessity and mercy) should be excluded. To frequent the congregation of Christians should be a delight to us.

"Then may we expect a blessing from God. Moses uses those two words, 'God sanctified' that day, that is,* he appointed it to mankind to become holy, or persevere in holiness, and blessed it, that is, he appointed it as a day of blessing, to make them partakers of the best blessings—pardon of sin, peace of mind, and hope of future glory.

"Was this God's intention in instituting that day? Then may we well sit down and weep over ourselves and our fellow-creatures. How is this day profaned! Alas! alas!

"Some say, 'We can serve God in our closet.' No doubt we can, and ought to do it. But this ought not to be an hinderance to our frequenting the public congre-

* Bishop Horsley's Exposition of these emphatic words is precisely similar to this of the venerable missionary.—*Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 216.

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gation. No sincere Christian will ever speak so. That excellent man, Lord Chief Justice Hale, in England, confessed that he had received particular blessings by attending public worship. Every Christian will confess the same. Nay, we are to look to others, particularly young people, to allure them to the adoration of God.

"May a gracious God bless your congregation! May he fill it with his glory, as often as you come together! My beloved friends, Mr. Toriano, and Mr. Duffin, will receive a blessing from the Lord. Take care, my friends, not to do any thing by which your Christian work, which you perform on the Sabbath day, may become less esteemed. The vow of the Lord is upon you, and the world will look critically upon you.

"My spirit is with you, though I am afraid that my old body will hardly be there.

"My young friend Mr. Kohlhoff, joins with me in his wishes for the prosperity of your Zion. Mr. Toriano will look upon this as written to him. God bless you and yours. Amen!"

Within a few days of the date of the preceding letter, the pious missionary addressed a second to the distinguished relative of Mr. Chambers, already mentioned, which, like the first, abounds with the richest Christian wisdom and consolation.

"Tanjore, March 29, 1786.

"Dear Sir,—I have received your favor of the 10th of October, and wonder that it did not reach me sooner. I have perused the account, which you have kindly given me, more than once, and shall read it again. Even your complaints are precious to me, as they are a proof that you feel your want, or your poverty; and you know that our Saviour has declared such to be blessed.

"When I have reflected upon my own deviations, (and they have been numerous, nay, innumerable,) I have had reason to attribute them to some secret pride. We confess, no doubt, that we are poor; that we have lost the glory of wisdom, holiness, and righteousness. Our confession is very orthodox; but, alas! our thoughts, wishes, aims, and whole conduct, are proofs that our confession is too often undermined.

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"As true religion endeavors to humble us and exalt God; and as this is absolutely necessary to our real welfare; we plainly perceive that God, in all his transactions with us, aims at this double point, viz. that we may be, what we really are, mere nothings; that He may be acknowledged as the only source of grace, strength, and happiness.

"When I read your letter, I think I am reading the history of my own life. Our want of poverty of spirit, makes us put our confidence in our own (imagined) merit: at other times it makes us indolent in prayer—sometimes presumptuous in venturing where we ought to be careful and vigilant. In short, it hinders us in faith, love, and hope.

"This, I am sure, every saint now in heaven will tell you hereafter, that our pride is our greatest enemy. Nay, sometimes we attempt to bring it down furiously: and even this is a specimen of our pride.

"The best, the surest way, therefore, is to look up to Jesus, and to cry to him, Help me, grant me that true poverty of spirit which I need.

"I remember to have read the story of a pious man complaining of his unsettled mind. The old Christian, to whom he discovered his whole mind, answered him in the following manner: 'I perceive, Sir, that you do not pray.' The mourning Christian replied, 'Not pray? I fall on my knees oftentimes a day.' The old man said, 'I do not doubt that: but still I say, you do not pray; I mean, you do not converse with God and your Redeemer so intimately, so freely, so often, as if you and He were alone on earth. To converse so with God, in the midst of all our business, we need not be always on our knees.'

"In the same manner a friend once asked Mr. Francke (who built the famous Orphan House at Halle) how it came to pass, that he maintained so constant a peace of mind. Mr. Francke replied, 'By stirring up my mind a hundred times a day! Wherever I am, whatever I do, I say, Blessed Jesus, have I truly a share in thy redemption? Are my sins forgiven? Am I guided by thy Spirit? Thine I am. Wash me again and again. Strengthen me, &c. &c. By this constant converse with Jesus, I have enjoyed serenity of mind, and a settled peace in my soul.'

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"Throw yourself upon Him, dear Sir, upon his mercy, atonement, grace, and Spirit. Do not look constantly upon your faults only. The sense of the love of God, and of Jesus, some true experience of ease, peace of mind, and a well-grounded hope of a blessed eternity: all this, in some degree enjoyed, will give you more strength to deny the world, and the lusts of it, to take up the cross, and to follow Christ, than all the thunders of the law. But as all this is not granted absolutely, but in the way of humble dependence upon God, therefore not only pray, but *watch* earnestly, that you may not lose by dissipation, what you have obtained in the way of begging.

"Your whole letter is a clear evidence, that you hunger and thirst after righteousness; which by nature you have not, but which is purchased for you by your atoning High Priest. The promise which is given to such is quite animating; viz. 'They shall be filled, and satisfied; they shall not be left in a *painful* hunger and thirst.'

"This promise, be assured, Jesus will make good. It is, as if he said to you: *You* shall be filled. Wait humbly his hour. Knock at his door confidently. Entreat him to fulfil his promise: do it again and again. You will soon find that he is faithful; and so, instead of lamenting your dejected condition, you will rejoice in the God of your salvation.

"Then the former experience of darkness, and uncomfortable hours, will be of great advantage. You will take care not to lose your roll, as Mr. Bunyan's pilgrim says.

"I shall not wait for your answer; but now and then send you a line as I have leisure.

"Pray for us. We shall remember you and your family likewise. Peace be to you!"

The venerable missionary probably fulfilled his promise of occasionally writing to his eminent correspondent. The two letters which have been introduced are, however, all that remain; and after a few years, Mr. —— returned to this country. As Swartz rightly concluded, the religious impressions which he had received, were deep and permanent, and productive of the fruits of a truly Christian course. These excellent men were personally strangers, having never met in India; and both have long since entered into rest: but in that higher world to which they

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aspired upon earth, and to which the Saviour, whom they loved and served, surely conducted them, they have, doubtless, renewed and perfected their friendship, and are recounting, to adopt the language of one of them, "the wonders of mercy," by which they have been made partakers of "the joy of their Lord."

To Mrs. Chambers, Swartz next wrote as follows:—

"Tanjore, April 5, 1786.

"Dear Madam,—Your kind letter I have received, and made a proper use of it, by acquainting Mrs. Wood of the payment of a large sum. Here I have exerted myself much, by entreating the rajah to pay off the 12,000 pagodas which he owed to the late Colonel. But though I do not despair, I find it very difficult to get any thing from these people.

"The account which you have given me of your own condition has rejoiced me very much. No doubt, madam, all the world, its riches and pleasures, cannot satisfy the sinner, who feels his need of a perfect righteousness; and at the same time is fully convinced that such an immense treasure is not to be found in himself.

"How should we, therefore, rejoice at the comfortable declaration of the gospel—nay, invitation, to come and buy bread 'without money and without price.' Freely it has been purchased, freely offered, and freely given, in the way of repentance and faith in Jesus. Considering our own hearts, and the sinful workings of them, we must needs despair of getting proper food for our souls, if it depended upon our own works. But we know that not our works, but the work of Christ, that great and divine work of atonement, has purchased all needful blessings for us.

"How happy are you, madam, that, in conjunction with your dear husband, you have chosen Christ; that you look upon all things of the world as dross in comparison with the excellent knowledge of Jesus; that you wish to win him as your treasure; for, having him, you have God and his favor—nay, eternal life. To be found in him at all times, in prosperity and adversity, in sickness and health, in life, death, and eternity—being in him, we are secured from all that can hurt us.

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"Let us, then, watch and pray, that this new disposition of mind may not be diminished or destroyed.

"May God grant you both abundant grace and strength to shine as lights in the midst of a perverse generation! God bless you both!

"P. S.—Knowing that Mr. Chambers has a great deal to do, I do not insist upon his writing, though he is always willing to do so. But be pleased to tell him, that if the Oriental Magazine contains any thing useful, he may be so kind as to send it to me; if otherwise, I do not wish it."

In his retrospect of the year 1786, Swartz assures the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, that their labors in behalf of India had not been in vain. The missionaries and teachers of the natives at the various stations had been preserved and prospered. He particularly notices the diligence and success of the pious catechist, Sattianaden, at Palamcotta, and speaks with much pleasure of the soldiers in the garrison at Tanjore, who attended divine service both on Sundays and at the weekly evening lectures, which were frequented by great numbers. "To this," he says, "they are encouraged by the officers, who all confess that corporal punishments had ceased from the time that the regiment began to relish religious instruction."

Peace had been restored to India; but the territory of Tanjore was still in a deplorable condition. The calamities consequent upon the unjust assumption of that province by the nabob, in the year 1773, and the subsequent devastation and ruin occasioned by the invasion of Hyder Ali, had reduced the rajah to great pecuniary distresses, and rendered the closing years of his reign a painful contrast to the gaiety and splendor of his youth. Debilitated by an incurable disease, and overwhelmed with affliction by the premature loss of his son, his daughter, and his grandson, his only legitimate descendants, the unhappy Tuljajee, regardless of the consolations of that divine religion which had been repeatedly displayed before him by his friend and adviser, Swartz, retired in hopeless despondency to the recesses of his palace, from which he never afterwards emerged. Here, brooding over his public embarrassments and his private sorrows, his former mild and benevolent disposition appears to have been exchanged

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for harshness, and indifference to the sufferings of his people. Avarice became his ruling passion; and the collections from a country desolated by war and famine were barely adequate to supply his demands. At this period, the rajah lost his upright sirkeel, or prime minister, Buchenah, who was succeeded by Baba, a man of notoriously oppressive and rapacious character. Instead of relieving the distresses which the people had long suffered, this unprincipled minister augmented them to an intolerable degree, partly for the purpose of replenishing the rajah's treasury, and partly for his own individual advantage, by a system of the most atrocious injustice, cruelty, and oppression. The people groaning under this barbarous misgovernment, and appealing to the rajah for redress in vain, at length abandoned their country, and fled in crowds to the neighboring districts of Karical, Nagore, and Trichinopoly, in the former of which, then possessed by the French, they not only found a secure asylum, but were received with the utmost hospitality and kindness. Several populous towns and villages were deserted, and whole districts, for want of laborers, lay waste and uncultivated. The number of useful inhabitants who thus emigrated was estimated at sixty-five thousand.

Such was the melancholy state of Tanjore when Sir Archibald Campbell succeeded Lord Macartney as governor of Madras, one of the earliest measures of whose administration was to open a communication with the rajah, informing him of the representation which had been made to the English government, and entreating him to dismiss his oppressive Duan, and to appoint able and virtuous men to manage his affairs.

The rajah was offended at this interference, and endeavored to excuse his own and his minister's conduct; but the attempt was unavailing. The inhabitants of the southern and western districts declared their determination not to cultivate their lands until a change should take place in the administration of Tanjore. In consequence of this declaration, the government of Fort St. George resolved to take the temporary superintendence of Tanjore into their own hands; and for this purpose, in July 1786, appointed a committee of inspection, consisting of the resident, Mr. Hudleston, the commandant of the garrison, Colonel Stewart, and the paymaster, Mr. Hip-

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pisley, with very large powers, to watch over the affairs and interests of Tanjore.

With this committee Sir Archibald Campbell proposed to unite Mr. Swartz; observing, "There are abundant proofs on record of the zeal, ability, and services of the Rev. Mr. Swartz, whose accurate local knowledge, and facility in the country languages, and, above all, whose high estimation with the rajah, from an intercourse of thirty years, must render his assistance of essential consequence on such occasions.

"His presence, if possible, should always be requested in the committee, in which he should have an honorary seat, and he should also be desired to interpret and translate whatever may be necessary, and to subjoin his signature to all such examinations and translations."

Shortly after this important appointment, Mr. Hudleston proposed to the governor that Mr. Swartz should not only have a seat, but a voice in the committee; stating that he had exerted the political authority of his situation, "in conjunction only with that excellent man," and adding, "It is, and will be as long as I live, my greatest pride, and most pleasing recollection, that from the moment of my entering on this responsible station, I have consulted with Mr. Swartz on every occasion, and taken no step of the least importance without his previous concurrence and approbation; nor has there been a difference of sentiment between us in any one instance. Adverting only to the peculiar circumstances under which the committee begins its administration, and the prospect they present, you will, I am persuaded, sir, readily conceive of how serious a consideration it must be to me to have both the advice and effectual support of Mr. Swartz in the adoption of that conduct which our concurrent judgment may approve. Happy, indeed," continued the resident, himself no mean judge of moral and political merit, "happy would it be for this country, for the Company, and for the rajah himself, when his eyes should be opened, if he possessed the whole authority, and were invested with power to execute all the measures that his wisdom and benevolence would suggest."

In reply to this communication, the governor expressed his entire acquiescence in the resident's suggestion, and added, "Such is my opinion of Mr. Swartz's abilities and integrity, that I have recommended to the board that he

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should be admitted a member of the committee, without any reservation whatever; and my confidence in him is such that I think many advantages may be derived therefrom."

On being called to the committee as an honorary member, "Mr. Swartz expressed his readiness to give his best opinion and advice, and to be aiding, on all occasions that did not involve violent or coercive proceedings; which, however expedient they might be deemed in the estimation of government or the committee, he considered, nevertheless, as unbecoming the character of his mission. His most zealous endeavors, as they ever had been, so they were now, at the service of the Honorable Company, and happy he should esteem himself if he could be in the least instrumental in producing harmony between the rajah and the Company, and to see the poor inhabitants of this once flourishing country restored to the undisturbed possession of the fruits of their labor." Having made this declaration, he took his seat in the committee.

In pursuance of the suggestion alluded to by Sir Archibald Campbell, Mr. Swartz requested an interview with the rajah, for the purpose of persuading him to accede to the expedient of adding his cowle to that of the Company, in order to remove the distrust of the inhabitants, and to offer them such security for the redress of their grievances, as would prevail on them to return to the cultivation of the country.

In reply to this proposal, the rajah earnestly deprecated the compromise of his authority by any interference on the part of the committee of inspection; assured Mr. Swartz that he had actually afforded considerable relief to his people, and that some had returned, to whom he had granted a supply of money and of seed for the cultivation of their land.

These expedients, however, were very inadequate to the urgency of the case; and, in consequence, one of the members of the committee of inspection strongly recommended the adoption of some prompt and vigorous measures for the more effectual relief of the people, and particularly suggested frequent meetings of the committee, and a general survey of the country. To these proposals Mr. Hudleston and Mr. Swartz were decidedly opposed,

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upon the broad and generous ground of their unwillingness to take any step which might unnecessarily irritate the rajah, or infringe upon those principles of justice by which the British government ought upon all occasions to be actuated, and upon that independence which had been solemnly secured to the rajah on his restoration by Lord Pigot.

Not to enter at length into the discussions of the committee upon this important subject, which were highly honorable to every member of it, it will be sufficient to observe, that Mr. Hippisley, in one of his minutes, attributed the reluctance of Mr. Swartz to acquiesce in any coercive measures, to his sacred function, and to his personal friendship for the rajah, which he thought, to adopt his own expressions, "might revolt his mind against the sterner dictates of civil policy." From the undue influence of these motives, Mr. Hudleston warmly vindicated his friend and coadjutor, observing, that while he left it to Mr. Swartz himself to explain his own views, he could not admit the supposed imcompatibility of private friendship with the dictates of sound policy.

It would be unjust to the character of this truly wise and benevolent man not to insert the greater part of his own minute upon this occasion.

"I confess that my sacred function makes me wish (to speak in the mildest terms) that no coercive methods may be used against the rajah; but surely that is not the only motive which makes me abhor force; nay, I mentioned in the committee one of a different nature.

"The recollection of all that happened before the second siege,* the injustice of the nabob against the rajah, which was removed in a great measure by the restoration, and the assurances which were then made to him, gave him a full right to be treated with lenity. By such treatment, which he may justly claim, his mind will not only be preserved in a state of tranquillity, but our neighbors will also observe the sacred regard which we pay to our solemn promises; which may be of greater importance, and ought of course to be of greater force, than the consideration of utility.

"My friendly intercourse with the rajah from his acces-

* Of Tanjore in 1773.

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sion, shall never bias me to be regardless of the injustice he has done to his oppressed people. This I have declared more than once, when I humbly entreated him to have mercy on his subjects; for which plain declaration I lost, in some degree, his good opinion.

"But as the law threateneth the disobedient, it shows kindness to those who earnestly *begin* to follow its dictates.

"This is the case of the rajah. Whether from good motives or mere fear, certain it is, he has sent to his people such terms as they never before were acquainted with. He has taken off taxes, which were laid on them in his father's time; he has charged his soubadars to publish them, and the inhabitants confess, that if he religiously keeps those promises, they shall be very happy.

"As to the two articles of betel and salt, he will no doubt relieve his people very soon.

"With respect to the uncultivated fields, we know for certain that many thousand acres lie barren. But this is owing to the small number of inhabitants, which no survey will multiply.

"As to a proper survey made by an engineer, it has been made already by Colonel Ross, Major Stevens, Captain D. Good, and Captain Alexander Read; whether they have only begun, or perfectly finished it, I cannot ascertain. Sure I am that it was undertaken, and I was on the spot with the above-mentioned gentlemen when they actually were surveying."

The result of the preceding discussion in the Committee of Inspection was the postponement of any coercive measures towards the rajah, and Mr. Swartz was left to try the effect of renewed applications of a friendly nature. Alarmed by his representations, and fearing lest, after all, the committee should take the management of the country into their hands, the rajah at length reluctantly announced his determination to do full justice to his people. Rendered suspicious, however, by former experience, they distrusted his promises, and rejected his offers. The rajah then had recourse to the powerful influence of Swartz himself, and requested him to assure them, in his own name, of his highness's protection; and such was their confidence in his integrity, that seven thousand of the emigrants returned at once; others soon followed;

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and upon his reminding them that the best season for cultivating the land had nearly elapsed, they replied; "As you have shown kindness to us, we intend to work night and day, to manifest our regard for you." The poor people, anticipating better days, exerted themselves with such vigor, that the harvest was more abundant than that of the preceding year.

The governor and council of Madras were so impressed with the value of Mr. Swartz's services upon this important occasion, that they resolved on granting him a salary of £100 per annum, as interpreter to the Company at Tanjore, with a monthly allowance of twenty pagodas for a palankeen; and the resident was desired, in communicating this resolution, to express "the high sense which the board entertained of Mr. Swartz, and the satisfaction they derived from the hope that his zealous exertions in promoting the prosperity of the rajah of Tanjore and his country would be crowned with success."

"In these transactions," says the excellent missionary, ever intent on the great object of his life, "I had the best opportunities of conversing with the first inhabitants about their everlasting welfare. Many begin to be convinced of the folly of idolatry, and as we have a prospect of seeing this country better managed, that is, with more justice, it is to be hoped that it will have a good effect upon the people."

He then notices the provincial schools, which were to be erected upon Mr. Sullivan's plan; and after informing the Society that the school at Ramanadapuram was proceeding with tolerable success, he regrets that the external circumstances of the country did not seem favorable to the establishment of others.

At the close of this letter, Swartz took occasion to request the Society to receive his young friend Mr. Kohlhoff into the number of their missionaries, assuring them of his conviction that he would discharge the duties of that office with integrity; and concludes by thanking them for the satisfaction with which he had read Dr. White's celebrated Bampton Lectures, a copy of which had been sent to each of the missionaries, praying that God would be pleased to open the eyes of the nations, and that the pious endeavors of the Society might be blessed with abundant success.

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CHAPTER XV.

Ordination of Mr. J. C. Kohlhoff—Adoption of a son by the Rajah of Tanjore—He requests Mr. Swartz to become his guardian, and manager of the country during his minority—He declines, and recommends another plan—The Rajah accedes to it—His death—Reference of the succession to Tanjore, to the Governor General—Lord Cornwallis's directions—Sir Archibald Campbell sets aside the adopted son, and places Ameer Sing on the throne—Advice of the Governor to the new Rajah—Committee of Inspection dissolved—Donation of Ameer Sing to the Tanjore mission—Liberal support of provincial schools, by the Court of Directors—Question respecting Castes—His conduct with reference to this subject—Congregation at Palamcotta—Letters to Mr. Duffin—Arrival of Mr. Jœnicke as a missionary at Tanjore—Swartz's character of him—Journey to Madras—Letters.

THE commencement of the year 1787 was marked by an event peculiarly interesting to Mr. Swartz. This was the ordination, according to the rites of the Lutheran church, of his young friend, Mr. John Caspar Kohlhoff. The ceremony was performed at Tranquebar on the 23d of January, "one of the most solemn days," said the Danish brethren, "ever celebrated at that place." On that day their venerable senior, the Rev. John Balthasar Kohlhoff, kept the jubilee of his services as a missionary, and being compelled to retire from active labor, had the inexpressible pleasure of seeing his eldest son ordained in the mission church, and invested with the holy office of the priesthood. The several missionaries, both English and Danish, propounded to the candidate questions in divinity, which he answered to their great satisfaction, showing how well he had employed his youthful years under the tuition of Mr.

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Swartz. The Danish governor, and all the European families of the settlement, together with a great number of native Christians and heathens, attended the service, and a general awe was conspicuous, particularly during the ordination sermon, which Mr. Swartz preached, from 2 Tim. ii. 1. "Thou therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus." After the ordination, the young minister entered the pulpit, and preached in Tamul with such graceful ease, that it was pleasing to every one who understood it. The missionaries expressed the greatest hope of his continuing a faithful servant of Christ, and a great help to their brother Swartz in his old age.

Swartz thus wrote to Mr. Chambers on a subject which, on various accounts, so deeply interested him.

"Tanjore, June 8, 1787.

"My dear Friend,—Your long and most agreeable letter I received many months ago, and should have answered it before this, had not business and an indolent old age prevented me: for now I must confess that I cannot do business as in former days. However, I bless God that my proper business, viz., that of being a witness to him who died for me, is not a burden, but still my delight and comfort.

"Your most friendly letter contains many comfortable proofs of divine Providence watching over you and your welfare, which has rejoiced me much.' 'The righteous shall see it and rejoice; and all iniquity shall stop her mouth.' May you and Mrs. C. daily 'observe these things'—then shall you 'understand the loving-kindness of the Lord.'

"As for me, I am also highly obliged to sing of the mercy of the Lord, though I am not worthy of the least of all his divine benefits.

"You know that I took the son of our venerable senior, Mr. Kohlhoff, under my care. From his younger years, I instructed him in Christianity, English, German, Greek, and some country languages. Having been instructed for several years, it pleased God to awaken him to a sense of his own sinfulness, and to raise in his mind a hunger and thirst after the righteousness of Jesus. He then prayed, wept, and meditated; and, in short, he became a very agreeable companion to me. His improvement in knowledge I observed with delight.

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"I employed him gradually, so that he in a short time catechised in the English and Malabar school. As I explained to him the Epistles of St. Paul, and read with him many of the best authors in English and German, I permitted him to preach before the Malabar congregation. By slow degrees he became a very useful assistant to me.

"Feeling the infirmities of old age coming upon me, I represented his case to the Society, requested permission to put him into sacred orders, and to constitute him my successor. The Society consented to all, desiring that the ordination might be performed in the presence of all the missionaries at the coast. Accordingly we went to Tranquebar. The young candidate was examined by all, and publicly ordained. The Danish governor, and the whole congregation, black and white, were assembled. When kneeling at the altar, he had the peculiar and awful delight of seeing his aged father sitting near him.* I explained the words of St. Paul, 2 Tim. ii. 1, and so blessed him in the name of the Lord. Afterwards young Mr. Kohlhoff mounted the pulpit, and preached. It is impossible to describe or explain what I felt on that day—the most awful of all my days. Praise the Lord, O my soul!"

During the absence of Swartz, at Tranquebar, on this interesting occasion, an event took place in the court of Tanjore, in consequence of which he was unexpectedly, and most honorably to himself, called to act a prominent part in the political affairs of the country. This, as it occupied much of his time and thoughts during the last ten years of his life, and is as yet but imperfectly understood, it will be important fully to develop; more particularly for the purpose of showing, that while he continued to devote his chief attention to his higher and more immediate duties as a missionary, it proved the occasion of more eminently displaying not only the integrity and disinterestedness, but the wisdom and ability, which distinguished his character.

The event referred to, was the adoption of a son by the

* That excellent man survived this interesting scene about four years, having lived to see his son diligently engaged in the English mission, and the rest of his family, by the good providence of God, comfortably provided for.

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rajah, as his successor in the kingdom of Tanjore. The domestic calamities of the unhappy Tuljajee have been already noticed; and, according to the custom of his country, he was anxious to select a child from one of the branches of his ancient house, to supply the failure of his own immediate descendants.

In this important proceeding, the rajah, who, as it has been already remarked, was well acquainted with the civil and religious institutions of his country, was careful to observe all the ceremonies requisite to render it legal and valid.

This solemn act he announced in the following letter, dated January 26, 1787, to Sir Archibald Campbell, governor of Madras, as translated by the Mahratta interpreter.

"It has been my wish for two or three years past to adopt a son; but as I have had no opportunity of carrying it into execution, it has hitherto been delayed. Having now resolved to choose one out of my near relations, I have fixed upon the son of Shahajee (the son of Soubajee rajah, my near cousin by lineal descent,) who is ten years old, and proper in all respects. Accordingly, on the 2d of Rubbisanni, (22d January,) in consequence of my wishes, I adopted and named him Serfojee rajah, with all the forms of our religion: this has afforded great relief to my mind. As your excellency is my friend and favorer, I have written a letter to give you this pleasing information. I am firmly convinced that whatever favor and protection I have received from the honorable Company, and from your excellency, will hereafter be continued to my child Serfojee, without deviation. I and my country have no resource but in your excellency: I rely on you with the greatest confidence. All other information will be communicated to your excellency by my vakeel.

"To a friend, why should I write more?"

A day or two after despatching the preceding letter, the rajah sent for Mr. Swartz, and, on his arrival, addressed him in the following brief but emphatic manner. Pointing to his newly-adopted child, he said, "This is not my son, but yours: into your hand I deliver him." The pious missionary replied, "May this child become a child

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of God!" Here the rajah, being distressed by his cough, suddenly terminated the interview; but on the following day, feeling himself a little stronger, he again requested his attendance, and thus resumed the conversation: "I appoint you guardian to the child: I intend to give him over to your care;" or, literally, to put his hands into yours.

So unexpected and flattering a charge might have proved a temptation to a man of greater ambition and less disinterestedness than Swartz; but he immediately replied, "You know, rajah, that I have always been willing to serve you, as far as I could; but this, your last request, is beyond my power. You have adopted this child, and you now leave him without a guardian, without a support, like a garden without a fence. I am afraid that by so doing, you would not consult the happiness of the child, or the welfare of your country. You know there are competitors and parties in the palace, who aspire to the government. Cabals and animosities will ensue more than you may think of. These will endanger the life of the boy, and involve the kingdom in confusion. As for me, I must disclaim all guardianship, for this reason: because, waiving all other considerations, it would be impossible for me to take care of him.* I may, perhaps, see him once or twice in a month, and may give him my best advice; but what poor guardianship would this be! You will be pleased to adopt some other plan." The rajah asked, "What method do you propose?" Swartz answered, "You have a brother,—deliver the child to him; charge him to educate and treat him as his own son, till he is grown up. Thus his health and life may be preserved, and the welfare of the country may be secured." To this suggestion, the rajah at first objected; but afterwards said, "Well, I will consider all that you have urged!" "And so," adds the missionary, "I left him."

* It is evident, from his subsequent conduct, that this rejection of the guardianship of Serfogee related chiefly to the government of the country during his minority, and not to that of his person and education; in which we shall soon find Mr. Swartz interesting himself, and of which he was recognized by the Madras government as the guardian.—*Author.*

Or rather, may it not be that subsequent events induced Swartz to believe, that the preservation of the young prince's life required him to accept the guardianship of his person?—*Am. Ed.*

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The objection thus alluded to on the part of Tuljajee, was a doubt as to the legitimacy of his brother, who was, in fact, the son of a concubine, and with whom he had never been on friendly and cordial terms. In the course, however, of the evening after the preceding conversation, the rajah's mother visited him, and earnestly interceded in behalf of Rama Swamey, afterwards called Ameer Sing. This, combined with the advice of Swartz, determined Tuljajee to adopt the plan proposed. He accordingly sent for his brother, delivered his adopted son into his hands, desired him to be his guardian, and earnestly commended him to his care and affection. He then ordered a dress for his brother, and requested him to be kind to all his old servants, and to continue them in their offices. The rajah's mother and the principal people of the palace were present at this interview, and expressed their joy and satisfaction at the arrangement which had been made.

The next morning the rajah, who was rapidly sinking, requested the attendance of the resident, Mr. Hudleston, Colonel Stuart, the commander of the garrison, and Mr. Swartz. They were conducted to a small pavilion, near the apartment in which the rajah was lying, and were there introduced to his brother and his adopted son, who were sitting together, surrounded by his principal servants. The dying prince then sent the following message to them. After stating that, in compliance with the suggestions of Mr. Swartz, he had appointed Ameer Sing to be the guardian of the child, and regent of the country, till he should be capable of succeeding to the throne, he expressed his desire that the honorable Company would consider these two persons as the nearest and dearest to him in the world, and would support them in the government of the country, according to their solemn promise to maintain him and his heirs on the throne, as long as the sun and the moon should endure. He then said, that as he looked upon the resident and Mr. Swartz as faithful, he requested them to give him their assurance that they would communicate his wishes to government, and expressed his hope that the company would confirm this his last will, and continue to his brother and adopted son the same kindness which they had shown to himself. Mr. Hudleston having promised to transmit a faithful

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account of all that had passed, the rajah replied, "This assurance comforts me in my last hours!"

Two days after the affecting scene just described, the rajah, Tuljajee, who, from the commencement of their intercourse, and amidst all his errors and irregularities, had treated Swartz with unvarying respect and kindness, expired. His obsequies appear to have been conducted with due pomp, but without any tumult. The body of the rajah was burned; but no female was immolated on the funeral pile,—a circumstance of which Sir Archibald Campbell, much to his honor, at a period when the subject had excited but little attention, availed himself, to urge upon his successor the prohibition of a custom "distressing," as he justly observed, "to the feelings of humanity, and only serving to enrich the priest, by means of the jewels of the women who are thus cruelly and untimely sent out of the world."

The Committee of Inspection, by order of the governor and council of Madras, took the necessary measures for preserving the tranquillity of the country. In conjunction with Ameer Sing, who was considered as regent during the minority of Serfojee, they were directed to maintain the government of Tanjore as administered by the late rajah, until further instructions should be received from the governor-general of Bengal; and on the day following the funeral of the rajah, the military force which had been assembled, in order to prevent disturbance, was, at the suggestion of Mr. Swartz, withdrawn from the vicinity of the palace.

In communicating to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge the preceding events, he informed them, that Ameer Sing promised to be a father to the people, to alleviate their burdens, to inspect the state of the country, and not to leave the whole administration to his servants. "He hopes," he added, "to be confirmed by the governor-general, according to the last will of his brother. If so, certainly he will not hinder the progress of the Christian religion, but, at least externally, further it."

On the death of Tuljajee, the nabob of the Carnatic took the opportunity of urging his claim to the government of Tanjore; but this, having been maturely considered and declared invalid many years before, was at once rejected by Lord Cornwallis. The friends, however,

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of Ameer Sing were by no means contented that he should retain merely the character of regent, and guardian to the adopted son of the late rajah, but appear to have made strong representations to Sir Archibald Campbell of the injustice of excluding him from the immediate succession to the throne. These being transmitted to Lord Cornwallis, made a considerable impression upon his mind in favor of Ameer Sing; but in a minute in council upon this subject, it is well observed, that, however contrary to our ideas of natural justice the disposition made by Tuljajee might be, still if it were conformable to the laws of the Hindoos, and accorded with their opinions and prejudices, no arguments of this kind should prevail upon the governor-general to alter it.

It was also insinuated, that at the time of the adoption of Serfojee by the late rajah, his mind was so much weakened by disease, and influenced by some of those around him, that he could scarcely be considered competent to the performance of so important an act.

These representations induced Lord Cornwallis to send instructions to the government of Madras, to inquire whether the pundits and principal people of Tanjore considered the succession, under the circumstances of the adoption, and the rights of the brother, as conformable to the laws and religion of the Hindoos, or in any manner opposed to them. Supposing the reply to such an inquiry to be in the affirmative, the adopted son was to be confirmed in the succession, and to be supported by the Madras government: if otherwise, Ameer Sing was to be raised to the musnud, and to be equally supported by the British authority. If the case should appear doubtful, and no sufficient test should be offered for the determination of the points in question, the governor-general stated that he should not hesitate, on the ground of his superior natural rights, to decide in favor of Ameer Sing. It is important to observe, that in entering into this discussion, the Bengal government had no interested motive, but was solely influenced by a desire to prove that their proceedings were regulated by strict justice, and an impartial regard to the rights of the Hindoo princes.

In pursuance of these instructions, Sir Archibald Campbell proceeded in the month of April to Tanjore, and convened twelve pundits, to whom certain questions concern-

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ing the adoption of Serfojee, and the right of Ameer Sing to the throne, were proposed. The members of the Committee of Inspection were requested to attend at their deliberations, and Mr. Swartz to act as interpreter.

Though there can be no doubt that Sir Archibald Campbell was sincerely desirous of ascertaining the truth, subsequent investigations and events clearly prove that sufficient precaution was not used to guard against the undue influence of Ameer Sing and his party, in biassing the minds of the pundits upon this occasion; and it unfortunately happened, that though Mr. Swartz was fully competent to interpret their language, he was at that time not so intimately acquainted with the doctrine of the Shasters upon this particular subject, as to be able to detect the discordance of their opinions with the principles of Hindoo law and religion.

To the various questions proposed to them, the pundits unanimously replied, "that the adoption of Serfojee was illegal and invalid, and the right of Ameer Sing to the throne, clear and undoubted." In consequence of this decision, Sir Archibald Campbell declared his resolution to set aside the adopted son, and to raise the brother of the late rajah to the throne of his ancestors. This determination was immediately carried into effect; and the ceremony of placing Ameer Sing on the musnud, by the governor of Madras, was accompanied with every mark of distinction and solemnity. At the close of the speech which he addressed to the new rajah upon this occasion, he expressed his confident expectation, that the adopted child, Serfojee, would be countenanced, protected, and maintained in a suitable manner; with which intimation Ameer Sing promised the most faithful compliance. A treaty was concluded between the Company and the rajah, who immediately assumed the government of the country.

Sir Archibald Campbell, at the same time, took the opportunity of earnestly recommending to the rajah his serious attention to the state of the revenue, and the administration of justice in Tanjore. Upon both these important points, the governor gave him the most friendly and excellent advice, and referred him to Mr. Swartz, as the person best qualified to afford him counsel and assistance.

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The Committee of Inspection was shortly afterwards dissolved, by a letter from the governor and council of Madras, in which they expressed a high sense of the zeal, abilities, and exertions of its members, and a perfect approbation of their conduct, which was recorded on their proceedings, and would be reported to the court of directors.

On the elevation of Ameer Sing to the sovereignty of Tanjore, Mr. Swartz privately admonished him to fulfil the promise given to his subjects, to hear their complaints, and to restrain the injustice of his servants.

It is not unworthy of notice, as one among many other instances of the liberality of Mr. Swartz, that, in the year 1782, in furtherance of the public service, he lent one thousand pagodas to the late rajah of Tanjore; which sum he now consented to receive, without interest, from the commissioners for adjusting the claims on the deceased rajah, at the accession of his brother.

Not long afterwards Mr. Swartz reported to the Madras government, that about fifteen years previous to that date he had built a church at Vellore for the instruction of the natives; that when the war ended, and peace was established, four companies of his Majesty's 72d regiment were stationed in Vellore, who, having no proper quarters, used the church as barracks, and continued so to use them.

He therefore requested that government would either allow him a monthly gratuity, or buy the house for the company's use.

The surveyor was directed to report on this building; in communication with whom, Mr. Swartz agreed to accept three hundred pagodas as the purchase-money, which was paid to him accordingly, in full of all demands, and the building made over to the company.

Though the conduct of Ameer Sing, as will hereafter appear, was, in many respects, unsatisfactory, it is pleasing to observe, that he took an early opportunity of fulfilling the promise of his brother "before his death, by delivering to Mr. Swartz a written document, sealed by himself and his chief ministers, in which he made an appropriation for ever of a village, of the yearly income of about five hundred pagodas, (£200.) for the school, and more especially for the orphans." The village is situated on the confines of the district belonging to Tranquebar,

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which Swartz preferred to one in the neighborhood of Tanjore, on account of the convenience of sending the children, in case of war, of which he was constantly apprehensive, to a neutral territory. In a letter to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which contained this pleasing information, he makes honorable mention of Mr. Hippisley, as having always shown himself willing to be serviceable to the mission.

The plan of establishing provincial schools, proposed by Mr. Sullivan, of which some account has been already given,* will be in the recollection of the reader. Upon the return of that gentleman to Europe, he communicated it to the directors of the East India Company; and it is due to that distinguished body to state, that they at once perceived the wisdom and utility of the suggestion, and with the most enlarged views of the real welfare of the natives of India, they determined on affording it their cordial and liberal support. The following is an extract of a letter from the court of directors to the governor and council of Fort St. George, upon this subject, dated 16th of February 1787.

"The utility and importance of establishing a free and direct communication with the natives, having been sensibly experienced during the late war in India; and their acquiring a knowledge of the English language being the most effectual means of accomplishing this desirable object, it is with great pleasure we learn from Mr. John Sullivan, our late resident at Tanjore, that, seconded in his laudable undertaking by the zealous exertions of the Rev. Mr. Swartz, he had prevailed on the rajah of Tanjore, and the rajahs of the great and little Marawar, to establish schools for teaching English at Tanjore, Ramanadapuram, and Shevagunga, the capitals of their respective countries; the two latter assigning three hundred pagodas each for the support of their two seminaries. These works of peace, Mr. Sullivan informs us, have been interrupted by the calamities of war, and the funds assigned for their support necessarily diverted to other purposes; but we hope they will revive with the restoration of tranquillity.

"Highly approving of institutions calculated to establish mutual good faith, to enlighten the minds of the natives,

* See p. 240.

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and to impress them with sentiments of esteem and respect for the British nation, by making them acquainted with the leading features of our government, so favorable to the rights and happiness of mankind, we have determined to evince our desire of promoting their success, by contributing two hundred and fifty pagodas per annum towards the support of each of the schools above mentioned, and of any other school which may be opened for the same purpose; and we accordingly direct you to pay such schools respectively the annual stipend of two hundred and fifty pagodas, flattering ourselves that our example will excite the native princes in alliance with us to similar and more extensive benefactions."

It had often been objected, at this early period, as it still continues to be, to the success of the missions in India, that few, if any, but those of the lower castes, were ever converted to the Christian faith. Without referring to various considerations which might tend to abate our surprise at this supposed failure among the higher classes, it may be satisfactory to record the testimony of so competent and unimpeachable a witness as Swartz upon this point.

"Concerning the question about castes," he observes, "both at Tranquebar and here, our congregations consist of nearly an equal number of the higher and the lower." He then refers particularly to the difficulty which naturally arose as to the intercourse between natives of different castes, even after their conversion to that divine religion, which while it invariably recognizes the distinctions of rank in civil society, teaches that all are brethren, as the children of the same common father, and the disciples of the same meek and lowly Saviour. "Here," he continues, "the men and women of the higher caste, sit on one side of the church, and on the other, those of the lower.

"I have carefully avoided all unnecessary restraint, and thus have met with fewer difficulties. Even at the administration of the sacrament, sometimes one or other of the lower caste has first approached to receive it without producing any unpleasant sensation. Should you visit our church on a Sunday, you would observe with surprise the clean appearance of the lower caste, so that one might often take them for the higher. What renders them pecu-

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liarly obnoxious, is their practice of feeding upon dead cattle. I have always expressed the utmost abhorrence of such a custom, and positively declared that I would not allow it, and accordingly I hardly know any instance of it here. The country priests and catechists generally belong to one of the higher castes. The catechist Gabriel is, indeed, of the lower; but notwithstanding this, he converses freely with people of a higher class, as he pays particular attention to cleanliness in his dress. In the interior of the country, such intercourse is certainly not so easy. I was lately invited to the house of a heathen of the higher caste, when the pariar catechist came to me. I called to him, 'Stop; I will come to *you*;' the suttirer, that is, the people of the higher caste, have not yet learned to be humble: they are proud sinners yet—we must bear with them. This they were not willing to admit, and accordingly showed kindness to the catechist. In another place, in the house of a heathen, many people assembled, whom I catechised and prayed with, and we even had divine service there on a Sunday. The master of the house sat down at my feet, listening with great attention. O! that we could spend more time among them. Things would then soon assume a more promising appearance. We preach to high and low, that Jesus Christ is our wisdom, our righteousness, our sanctification, and our redemption."

The following anecdote affords another illustration of the easy and inoffensive manner in which Mr. Swartz was accustomed to endeavor to lessen the prejudices of caste.

He* was waiting one morning in the ante-chamber of the palace at Tanjore, for an interview with the rajah, when he was thus accosted by a brahmin, who was attending there for the same purpose. "Mr. Swartz, do you not think it a very bad thing to touch a pariar?" "O yes," replied the venerable missionary, "a very bad thing." The brahmin, however, perceiving, by his manner that more was meant than expressed, asked again, "But, Mr. Swartz, what do you mean by a pariar?" "I mean," the good man answered, "a thief, a liar, a slanderer, a drunkard, an adulterer, a proud man." "O

* See the able and convincing reply of the Rev. Mr. Hough to the Abbé Dubois, p. 79.

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then," said the brahmin, hastily interrupting him, "we are all pariars." Thus was he made to perceive how insignificant, in the missionary's opinion, was his boasted superiority over the pariar: while the lesson was calculated to teach him the only distinction, in the sight of God, between one man and another.

The judicious manner in which Swartz treated this difficult and delicate point, is another proof of his wise and just conception of the liberal and tolerant spirit of Christianity; and the happy consequence of his mild and forbearing conduct was, that the distinctions of caste among his converts were gradually disappearing, and would probably, in time, have been entirely forgotten. The rash and intolerant spirit, however, of some of his younger successors revived and exasperated the feelings of the native Christians upon these painful distinctions; and at the period when the mission was visited by Bishop Middleton, and afterwards by Bishop Heber, an appeal was made to them upon this subject. Both those eminent prelates concurred in considering the feelings in question as partaking more of a civil than a religious nature, and in recommending mutual forbearance and kindness to the converts; and in enjoining on the missionaries a recurrence to the principles and practice of their admirable predecessor, Swartz, in allowing the distinction of castes in church to continue, provided that due care were taken to teach the congregations that they are all naturally, and in the light of Christianity, equal.*

Early in the year 1788, in a letter to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Swartz notices the first payment of the liberal grant from the East India Company towards the support of the provincial schools already established, and his appropriation of it, as he had proposed, to the schoolmasters and the superintendents. "I desire," he adds, "nothing of it for myself; although I shall readily assist as long as I am able." He then mentions in the most satisfactory terms, the abilities, zeal, and industry of Mr. I. Kohlhoff, his new colleague in the mission. Respecting the congregation at Palamcotta, concerning

* The whole subject is fully discussed in the Journal of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 451, and in his Life, vol. ii. pp. 222, 399.—*Author.*

Bishop Wilson is exerting his authority to put an end to the distinctions of caste in the native churches of India.—*Am. Ed.*

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which inquiries had been made, he replied, that it consisted of about one hundred and twenty persons, many of whom were inferior traders, some artificers, some farmers, and a few native soldiers or sepoys, all having their respective employments, and none, as far as he knew, living upon the charity of others, much less of the church. The able and pious catechist Sattianaden, was proceeding excellently with the care of this interesting congregation. The English liturgy was translated, and used regularly before the sermon. The following very interesting letter occurs in this year, addressed to Mr. and Mrs. Duffin.

"Tanjore, July 2, 1788.

"My dear Friends,—I am just come from taking my farewell of Mrs. J. ——. In all human probability I have seen her for the last time. She has had her share of sorrow. May we meet in a blessed eternity, where sin and sorrow cannot afflict us any more! As there is sin in us in this world, there is, and must of course be sorrow. Nor have we any reason to complain of its being so, since sorrow, if well managed, will produce excellent fruits. No man, unacquainted with grief, ever came to a lively knowledge of himself and his corruption: and if so, how could he in earnest apply to Jesus the Redeemer, hungering and thirsting after his righteousness? Not knowing ourselves and our corruption, how can we fervently pray for pardon, or for the grace of the Holy Spirit? In short, I believe every sincere Christian will confess with David —'Before I was afflicted I went astray; but now I keep thy commandments.' If, then, sorrow and affliction are our medicine, let us take from the hand of the Lord the cup of salvation, and call upon his name to make it effectual to our amendment. On these and the like meditations you both jointly with Mr. J—— will dwell, and comfort yourselves with the prospect of a better world. These are frequently my thoughts, particularly as I am so near my end. I am not sick; I go through the course of my duties; but when alone, I groan a little, yet I hope without murmuring.

"I intended to write a little more, but a sick man in the hospital sends for me, wishing to hear a word of comfort. Farewell, my dear friends. May the spirit of Jesus guide, strengthen, and preserve you in the place whither

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Providence has sent you! If God be with you, none will be able to hurt you. Only take care to walk worthy of the gospel you profess. Glorify God and your Redeemer, even in that gay place to which you now belong.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you! I am, till I see you before the throne of God, your affectionate friend, C. F. SWARTZ."

In writing to one of the same excellent persons on the 12th of November in this year, Mr. Kohlhoff thus expresses himself respecting him whom he calls his "honored godfather:"

"Mr Swartz has enjoyed a perfect state of good health by the mercy of God since I last wrote to you. Though now advanced in age, it is surprising how a gracious God enables him to go through a great deal of business. Our heavenly Father uses him still as a blessed instrument, not only for the enlargement of his kingdom, but for the promoting of the public good. At present there are thirty-five of the natives instructed, who will soon be admitted into our church."

A few days afterwards, Swartz experienced a most merciful preservation. He had risen before daylight, and sat down on a seat where a very dangerous serpent lay; but providentially it did not attack him. Its bite is so venomous, that in general death ensues before any remedy can be applied.

In the month of October in this year, the Rev. Mr. Jœnicke, who had been recommended to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge by professor Schultz of Halle, as well qualified for the important office of a missionary, arrived at Tanjore. He was wisely directed to remain for a time with Mr. Swartz, by whose admonitions and example it was the express wish of the Society that he should regulate his conduct.

Of the new missionary, Swartz wrote early in the following year to the Society in terms of high approbation. He soon improved in the English language, so that he was able to read prayers to the satisfaction of the congregation. In learning the Tamul language, Mr. Jœnicke found no difficulty. The New Testament he was able to read in the course of a few weeks, and it was expected that he

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would soon be prepared to pursue the work of a missionary in that language. "His talents," he observed, "are excellent; but his heart, temper, and conduct, are the principal qualities which recommend him to the mission. May he become 'a burning and a shining light' to this idolatrous country!"

Various reasons, partly relating to the concerns of the mission, and partly to some painful circumstances of a private nature, induced Mr. Swartz in the month of December to visit Madras. He was absent from Tanjore about two months, during the greater part of which time he officiated at Madras, preaching every Sunday in the English, Tamul, and Portuguese languages. From the mission station near this presidency, at the head of which Mr. Gericke was now placed, he wrote to Mr. Chambers. The first part of his letter relates to the misconduct of an aged missionary, who had been intrusted with large sums of money belonging chiefly to the families of deceased Europeans, which he had in various ways, but it may charitably be hoped without any dishonest intention, improvidently lent, or unwarrantably employed in private speculations. With this distressing subject Mr. Chambers was, in common with Swartz, officially concerned. Thus he writes, with true Christian benevolence and piety.

"Vepery, Jan. 11, 1789.

"My dear Friend,—I will not attempt to apologize for my silence. I could not answer your questions, because Mr. F—— either would not, or could not, give me an account of various points of his mal-administration. Poor F. lent to a Polygar a large sum, and the bond he mortgaged to Mr. ——, whose executors retain it as a security for money which F. owed to him. So Mrs. W. and other widows and orphans have lost their money.

"That unhappy man lent another large sum to the nabob's son-in-law, part of which belongs to Mrs. —— and the rest to other families. I have written to Sir Archibald Campbell to plead the cause of the widow and the orphan, and to persuade the nabob to acknowledge the debt. The governor and his lady promised to befriend the poor; but afterwards they sent me word that I might go to the nabob. I went to him this very morning; but heard nothing but compliments. His eldest son promised

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to acquaint his father with my wishes; but these are 'verba, prætereaque nihil.' I shall give a power of attorney to Mr. Gericke; for I am at a great distance, and cannot run to Madras. My age and office will not permit me to spend so much time in vain. I have felt the burthen of an executor. I never thought that it was so full of vexation and trouble; and after all, it is well if one be not censured. Whether you will appoint an attorney to act in your stead, I leave to your own judgment.

"The money which the rajah of Tanjore owed to Colonel Wood is now put into the list of his private debts. Whenever a dividend is paid to other creditors, Mrs. W. will receive her share; so that the executors will have no trouble but that of taking bills upon the directors. I have now done with this business, which has given me great trouble and uneasiness.

"The poor old man F—— is at present in prison. One of his creditors keeps him there. I have visited him thrice. Think what I felt!

"Mr. Gericke is directed to remain here. I entertain a pleasing hope, that things will from this time proceed better. I believe you know him. He is a sincere Christian—a Nathanael, in whom there is no guile.

"I have been here above forty days. To complain is, as you know, to no purpose. But I am astonished that men should forget their latter end to such a degree. They eat and drink, and rise to play. I have asked many of them what they will think when all these things are taken from them—a dreadful eternity will, no doubt, be theirs.

"Blessed, for ever blessed be God, who has awakened us to consider our last end, and rouseth us daily to be prepared for that awful event! May we be found at all times in Christ! This was Paul's prayer, and I am certain it is yours. In Christ we shall be justified, and clothed with his righteousness, that we may appear before God in white garments. In him we shall obtain strength to die to the world, and to live according to his will and his example. In him we shall enter into the house and kingdom of his Father.

"Gracious God, prepare us for that unspeakable happiness!

"God bless you and Mrs. Chambers, and your whole family. So wishes your sincere friend and servant."

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On his return from Madras, Mr. Swartz visited his brethren and fellow-laborers at Cuddalore and Tranquebar, preached to their congregations, and cheered them by his conversation, which, as they observed, "they always esteemed a blessing."

The following extracts from letters written in the course of this year to his friend Mrs. Duffin at Madras, evince his animated and wakeful piety, and illustrate by the little details of familiar correspondence the peculiar sweetness and benevolence of his character.

"Tanjore, Feb. 19, 1789.

"I arrived here on the 7th instant, having had a very pleasant journey. Blessed be God, who has preserved me during my absence from Tanjore! So we go from place to place, till our pilgrimage be ended. God grant that at last we may be able to say with Paul, 'I have finished my course, I have kept the faith.' Let us watch and pray that nothing may interrupt us. How many impediments lie in our way! But if we are strengthened by the Lord, all will be well. God bless you and all that are in your house, particularly Mr. D——. Tell —— to give her whole heart to Jesus; that though the body be weak, the spirit may be strengthened and prepared for the day of Christ. The grace of our Lord Jesus, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with all who take the cross of Christ upon them!"

"Sept. 10.

"Though I have not written to you these last few months, I have not forgotten you. No; I remember you and your family often, and wish that you may prosper in the way that leadeth unto life eternal.

"Here we are under apprehension of being molested by Tippoo. He has collected an army at Dindegal. Colonel Stuart is ordered to form a camp at Warriore to be in readiness if Tippoo should commence hostilities. We are but ill prepared in respect of provision. And though we have suffered much formerly by our neglect, nothing will make us wiser. And as it is in that respect, so in other articles likewise.

"But oh, if God were with us, we might be confident, trusting in his Almighty arm. But Him and his word we

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disregard shamefully, as if we needed him not. However, we are in his hands, to save or to chastise us. May we seek and find mercy in and for Jesus' sake!

"I hope you go on well in your female asylum, where Mr. Gericke, as I understand, has the inspection. But I cannot learn who has the management of the male asylum.

"God bless you and us all! May he be our light and salvation in all circumstances!"

"Nov. 17.

"Your last letter I should have answered much sooner, had I not waited for the arrival of the vessel on board of which you had sent a box for me, and two pieces of cloth for Mrs. K——. I showed your letter to her. She wished to get the cloth made up for her sons, whom she hoped to send to England. I believe she intends to conduct them to Madras next month. She wishes to live in your neighborhood, as she is anxious to be retired. With the gay world she has nothing to do. She is a prudent mother, and her children are very agreeable, having been brought up in obedience to their parents, and in the fear of God.

"Is the new couple in your house? Do they rejoice your heart by their conduct? I hope you and Mr. D—— enjoy tolerable health; for, knowing your frequent ailments, I will not express it in stronger terms. I have suffered a good deal from a wrench, though I know not when and where I got it. However, all is for our benefit. These things put us in mind of our departure, which we must expect, and for which we are to prepare. Oh, what an unspeakable happiness will it be, to be free from sin, pain, and sorrow, and to rejoice in the presence of God and all his children! There I hope I shall sing the praises of God and our Redeemer with you. Till then let us 'fight the good fight of faith,' laying hold on eternal life, till we enjoy it. My best wishes to my dear friend, Mr. D——, and all your household."

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CHAPTER XVI.

Misgovernment of Ameer Sing—Mr. Petrie sent to Tanjore—Complaint as to the rajah's treatment of Serfojee—Measures consequent upon it—Result of them—Letter of Swartz to the governor of Madras—His letter to government in vindication of his conduct, in relation to Serfojee—Confidence of the governor and council of Madras in Mr. Swartz.

It will now be necessary to revert to the public affairs of Tanjore, and the conduct of the new rajah. It has been already stated, that, upon his accession to the throne, the government of Fort St. George addressed to him a letter of counsel and advice, particularly calling his attention to the state of the revenue, and to the administration of justice among his subjects. Notwithstanding this friendly admonition, it appears that, at the commencement of the year 1788, Mr. Swartz reported to the government that Ameer Sing was managing his affairs so injudiciously, that the very worst consequences were to be expected; that he was alienating his lands in an extravagant and improvident manner; that he entirely neglected the administration of justice; and that, unless some means were adopted to check the profusion and folly of the rajah, and of his sirkeel, or manager, Shevarow, the most ruinous results were to be apprehended.

In consequence of this communication, Mr. Petrie, one of the members of the Madras council, proceeded as commissioner to Tanjore, and Mr. Swartz was requested to render him the assistance which his knowledge and influence in the country would enable him to afford. Mr. Petrie's first object, on his arrival, was to procure the dismissal of the obnoxious minister, Shevarow; but,

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failing in this, he persuaded the rajah to associate with him two other respectable natives, as managers of the revenue, who should become responsible to the Company for the payment of the subsidy, for the more prudent administration of the affairs, and for the allotment of a just proportion of the produce to the inhabitants of the country. It was also agreed that Mr. Swartz should have the superintendence of the court of justice, which, in consequence of his repeated solicitations, the rajah had consented to establish at Tanjore; that he should be made acquainted with the causes which came under the cognizance of that court, and that a weekly report of its proceedings should be delivered to him, which he should remit to the British resident, whose powers were enlarged, to enable him effectually to secure these important ends.

By these judicious arrangements, considerable advantages were obtained, both in the more regular management of the revenue, and in some slight appearance of a better administration of justice; but these improvements were only temporary, and were unhappily counteracted by the rajah, and his favorite, Shevarow.

Besides his mal-administration of the affairs of government, and his failure in the stipulated payments to the Company, another subject of complaint against Ameer Sing about this time arose, which cannot be better stated than in the following report from the resident to the government of Madras:—

"I lament the occasion which obliges me again to address you on the treatment shown by his excellency to Serfojee, the adopted heir of the late rajah.

"Though my representations to you on this subject have been no less frequent than forcible; and though your admonitions, in consequence, to the rajah have been such as the situation of the boy demanded; those admonitions have not been attended with the desired effect.

"In addition to the knowledge Mr. Swartz and myself have of the boy's situation, the widows of the late rajah have stated the condition in which he is held, and have called upon me, as representative of the honorable Company here, to procure for him that protection which has hitherto been refused him by the present rajah.

"He remains still deprived not only of all education, but also of free air, exercise, and attendance. There

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being no prospect of a favorable change in his situation, humanity induces me to hope that some effectual mode of interposition may suggest itself to you, by which the boy may receive the protection he so well merits from the justice of the honorable Company.

"I beg leave to add, that the Rev. Mr. Swartz (whom Tuljajee, on his death-bed, appointed guardian to Serfojee) might, with propriety, be constituted the judge of his condition; and while *he* approved of the treatment shown by his excellency, the child would be secure of every protection the honorable Company could desire to obtain for him."

On this communication, the following minute was recorded.

"The board approve the suggestion of Mr. Macleod respecting the appointing the Rev. Mr. Swartz guardian to the adopted son of the late rajah of Tanjore; and it is accordingly agreed that a copy of the foregoing letter be sent to Mr. Petrie, and that he be desired to pay every attention to the subject contained in it."

In consequence of this recognition of Mr. Swartz, as guardian of the adopted son of the late rajah, he had access to him from time to time, and acquainted the resident with his state; who, in a letter to the government secretary, dated 12th of August, 1789, reported it as follows:—

"You will be pleased to acquaint the honorable the President and Council, that on the 8th inst. Mr. Swartz and myself had an interview with the adopted son of the late rajah. He appeared to be in good health, though a gloom hung upon his countenance. His place of confinement is spacious, though I believe he is never permitted to come out of it. He told us, upon inquiry, that he had no masters given him to instruct him, complained of his confinement, and wished to go to the house of his mother,—so he calls the widow of the late rajah.

"I had before told Shevarow, that at least he should be permitted to have the exercise of riding within the walls of the palace. Shevarow's answer was, that he had repeatedly, but in vain, recommended it to the rajah.

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But it is much to be doubted whether he would say any thing so much against the rajah's inclinations."

On the receipt of this letter the governor addressed one to the rajah, which contained the following paragraph; and the resident was directed to observe the treatment of Serfojee.

"I have been informed that the adopted son of the late rajah is kept by your excellency under close confinement, and deprived of the means of an education suitable to his rank and condition. This I think proper to mention to your excellency, not doubting that you will order him to be set at liberty, and allow him free access to his adopted mother, and the other branches of his family; that proper care may be taken of his education, and that his health may not suffer by confinement.

"To a friend, what can I say more?"

In September 1789, the resident presented the governor's letter to the rajah, at an interview, of which he made the following report to the government.

"His excellency appeared to be much moved with what I said respecting the treatment due to the adopted son of the late rajah, which he considered as an interference in his domestic arrangements. He affirmed that the boy had proper clothes, food, and medical assistance, when he wanted it, and was better treated by his excellency than he himself had been by his brother, the late rajah. Nevertheless, that the English had not interfered with the late rajah, to alleviate his confinement; that the boy had a schoolmaster, but was of an obstinate disposition, and disinclined to learn. And here he produced a man, whom he called a schoolmaster, who confirmed his account. But as this was in the presence of the rajah and Shevarow, no great dependence can be placed on his report."

On the 25th of September, the governor of Madras wrote the following letter to the rajah.

"To his excellency, the rajah of Tanjore.

"Many complaints having been made to me that Serfojee, the adopted son of the late rajah, is not only treated with much severity, but that his education is totally

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neglected; which being contrary to those liberal sentiments of equity and justice which the honorable Company are ever desirous to promote and inculcate, I have been induced to intercede in his behalf. Your excellency will be pleased to allow him to occupy a separate dwelling, contiguous to that of his adopted mother, the widow of the late rajah, free from every restraint of his person; as it is proper that he should be permitted to see his adopted mother, and to visit or receive visits from his other relations, without any obstruction or hinderance, whenever he thinks proper. I have accordingly directed that he shall be allowed a small guard of Company's sepoys to attend on his person; and I most earnestly recommend it to your excellency to treat him with kindness, and to discourage every species of oppression towards him or the widows of the late rajah, either in their persons or property.

"To a friend, what can I say more?"

On the 5th of October, the resident advised the government that he had endeavored to obtain an interview with the rajah, for the purpose of presenting the above letter, which the rajah had evaded on the plea of sickness; that on Sunday Mr. Swartz declined to act as interpreter; and that on the following day the rajah again declined to grant an audience, on the plea of illness. The presentation of the letter was therefore deferred; but the resident proposed, under all the circumstances of the case, that a house which was next door to that of Serfojee's mother should be fitted up, and that he should be removed from the palace, and placed in that house. The government approved this proposal, and directed that it should be immediately carried into effect.

Of the subsequent proceedings, the following report was transmitted to the Madras government a few days afterwards, by Mr. Ram, who had succeeded Mr. Macleod, as resident at Tanjore.

"Having obtained an interview with the rajah, I found Shevarow present as usual. I stated that I was informed it was by his counsel that Serfojee was continued in confinement, notwithstanding the repeated admonitions of government, and the positive promise of his excellency to Mr. Petrie, that he should be released in eight months;

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that I now came to deliver a more explicit order upon that head; a compliance with which I must earnestly recommend to his excellency, not only as the mandate of this presidency, but as the earnest wish of the English in general; for that Sir Archibald Campbell, having set aside the adoption of Serfojee, in favor of his excellency's better title to the musnud of his late brother, the English must, in consequence, consider themselves as in honor bound to protect him from every degree of oppression.

"The rajah acknowledged his promise to Mr. Petrie, and affirmed that it had been his design to find out a suitable match for Serfojee, that he might be married at the same time with his own son-in-law, after which, he allowed the present restraint would be improper, but was now agreeable to their customs; that the mother of the boy (by adoption) had herself objected to a match proposed by him, on the plea that the parties were too young, which had prevented his carrying his intentions into effect, as he had proposed to Mr. Petrie; that, however, in six months more he would, without fail, accomplish them; that in the mean time it would be highly repugnant to their customs for a youth of Serfojee's age to visit the apartment of the widow of the late rajah; that if I doubted any part of what he now affirmed, I might, if I thought proper, have an opportunity of conversing with the widow, she being concealed from my sight. To this I replied, that I could never conceive it agreeable to their customs to confine their children in a place where they could not have the free benefits of light and air; that, therefore, it was highly necessary that Serfojee should be placed in the house mentioned in the honorable president's letter, which I understood had been built by the late rajah purposely for his accommodations; that if his visiting the widows of the late rajah was repugnant to their customs, I could not suppose those ladies would suffer it; and without their permission it would he impossible for him to see them.

"The conference running to a great length, the rajah requested I would excuse him for the present, but allow Mr. Swartz to come to the palace the next day; by which time, having considered what I had said, he would communicate his sentiments to him. To this I readily consented, imagining that a less embarrassed communication

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of sentiments, which would take place when Mr. Swartz only was present, would be more likely to prevail on the rajah to comply with the sentiments of the honorable president, and placing the utmost confidence in the good missionary's discretion and zeal for the service. Yesterday evening the conference took place; and the following is Mr. Swartz's communication of it to me, immediately after his return from the palace.

"The rajah began, of his own accord, on the subject of Serfojee, and gave the strongest assurances that in a very short time he would so act as to give entire satisfaction; and that we being on the spot, should be witnesses and judges of it. Mr. Swartz then observed that it must be by releasing Serfojee from the present dark and dismal place of his confinement, to which the rajah assented, but declined being more particular, repeating his assurances that he was certain we should be satisfied with his conduct. With respect to Shevarow, he affirmed that he had been calumniated, and hoped that he would be able to clear himself to my satisfaction. I had given a short memorandum to Mr. Swartz, of the points I wished to be satisfied on—one of which was, to obtain information respecting a late grant from the rajah of a considerable district to his son-in-law; on the impropriety of which, at a time when he could not pay his kists (instalments) to the Company, I desired him to remark. The rajah admitted that he had made such a grant, but defended it on the ground that a similar provision had been allowed for the son-in-law of the late rajah.

"Notwithstanding that Mr. Swartz appeared to place some confidence in the above assurances of the rajah respecting Serfojee, I must own they appear to me rather evasive, and calculated to gain time; but of that the honorable board will be more capable of judging."

About a week after the preceding communication, the resident received an order from the governor of Madras to remove Serfojee from the immediate control of the rajah; of his execution of which the following is his official report.

"I shall proceed to relate the steps by which the situation of Serfojee has been so considerably altered for the better. The letter of Mr. Chamier of the 16th, arrived about noon, on the 20th. I requested an interview with

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his excellency for the day following, which being granted, I repaired to the palace, accompanied by Colonel Stuart and Mr. Swartz. Having desired that Serfojee might be brought into our presence, which was with some difficulty complied with, (the rajah apprehending that he might charge him with neglect of his education to his face,) I took the youth by the hand, and having declared your orders that he should be removed from the palace, I was proceeding to conduct him out, but was prevented by the violent agitation of the rajah, who took hold of my other hand, and of my clothes, conjuring me not to disgrace him so much in the sight of his people. I endeavored to make his excellency comprehend that the step I was taking was for his own reputation, which suffered by the treatment hitherto observed towards Serfojee. It would be needless to repeat all that passed during a couple of hours. The rajah at length finding me resolved, either to take the boy out of the palace, or to place him under the protection of the Company's sepoys within, after affirming that the proper house could not be prepared for him under seven, then three days, and at last by the next day, most solemnly promised that it should be done; upon which I retired, leaving Serfojee under the protection of Mr. Swartz, near to whom it was settled he should sleep for that night.

"The next morning he, for the first time since his confinement, saw the sun! Between eight and nine I returned to the palace, and about eleven we were joined by Colonel Stuart; about one, having notice that the house was nearly cleaned out, and Serfojee's furniture removed there, with the rajah's consent, who did not appear, I conducted him to it, and placed a guard of twelve sepoys of the 23d over him. I have ordered a proper person, recommended by Mr. Swartz, a Mahratta Brahmin, named Dadarow, to attend to his education, which has been entirely neglected, he not being acquainted even with the alphabet. The person before mentioned has likewise been instructed to prevent such discourse being held in his presence as might tend to put ambitious thoughts into his head, upon his present enlargement. Serfojee expressed his gratitude for the favor shown him, and was desired by me to send his acknowledgments to the rajah for his ready compliance with your orders. The admitting of

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sepoys to this part of the palace was long disputed. On the evening of the 21st, the rajah requested that my peons might be stationed in lieu of them; but this appearing to me as very insufficient security, I persisted in my first position, and having sent for the sepoys the next day, no further objection was made.

"Mr. Swartz was of opinion that after what had passed, Serfojee ought to have his provisions furnished by the rajah's widows, to which his excellency has made no kind of objection. Indeed I understand that having been taken under the protection of the Company, his food may be provided by any one he chooses.

"Mr. Swartz is likewise of opinion that a discontinuance of the guard would be attended with some risk to the person of Serfojee.

"The house in which he now is, has been somewhat encumbered by buildings since the time of the late rajah. It is, however, pleasantly situated, and has a small garden adjoining.

"I have great hopes that the enlargement of the boy being thus effected, will remove the improper influence which Shevarow had obtained over the rajah, by persuading him that whilst his excellency adhered to his counsels, the release of Serfojee would never be effected."

In the month of February, 1790, the resident, in announcing to the governor in council at Fort St. George, the arrival of despatches from the Court of Directors, very favorable to the interests of the rajah of Tanjore, submitted to the board, whether it might not be proper to take that opportunity of urging upon his excellency the performance of his promise to Sir Archibald Campbell, to reform the administration of justice, but which had been entirely forgotten or neglected since his inauguration.

"The good Mr. Swartz," the resident observes, "having frequently lamented the mischiefs which are daily happening for want of a regular system of justice, (with that knowledge which his long acquaintance with the language and manners of the country has given him,) has favored me with his thoughts upon that important subject, which I have the honor to inclose. The want of such regulations are daily before my eyes. Any man in the Tanjore country (who has the power) ties up and tortures whomsoever he pleases, on the most frivolous pretences."

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Of these acts of oppression and injustice, the resident then mentions some gross instances, which clearly proved the inability of the rajah himself, under the present corrupt system, to restrain and punish such atrocities. The letter from Mr. Swartz to the governor in council, referred to by the resident, is as follows:—

"Hon. Sir, and Gentlemen,—Permit me humbly to address you, in behalf of this country, of which you are constituted guardians and defenders, and in whose prosperity or distress you are concerned.

"Every government is to be supported by a rational administration of justice, without which both king and subjects cannot prosper. This proposition needs no proof, being self-evident. All nations confirm it, at least in theory; experience, nay all history, gives us the strongest proof, that a country without justice is a ruined country.

"When, some years ago, the spirit of despotic cruelty drove the people to despair, the late rajah promised to alleviate the burthens of his people, and to introduce a better administration of justice. And as the people, so often deceived and oppressed, entertained strong doubts of the truth of this noble and exhilarating promise, he empowered me to publish it in writing, and to become responsible for the accomplishment of it. The people rejoiced, returned from their emigration to their own country, set about the cultivation with a wonderful ardor, though it was very late in the season, so that many were afraid of a famine; and by their cheerful exertions, were blessed with a very rich crop.

"The late rajah soon after this died. Before his successor was seated on the throne, I entreated Sir Archibald Campbell to benefit the country by introducing a better administration of justice. Fully convinced of the propriety of my request, he desired me to draw up a plan by which this might be accomplished according to the laws of the Hindoos.

"I obeyed this command with all possible cheerfulness, representing to myself the beneficial effects which the country would from hence experience. But on one point I entertained an opinion which differed from Sir Archibald Campbell's sentiments. He, out of delicacy, thought it proper to let the present rajah have the honor of establish-

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ing such a court of judicature. I represented to him that without derogating from the good will of the rajah, so many ill-disposed people would surround him, and hinder an institution, beneficial indeed to the country, but diametrically opposite to their self-interested views, that the whole plan would be soon laid aside. On the other hand, if, during the interregnum, such a court of justice should be established, and by the English government protected and encouraged, as might easily be done, it would succeed and prosper. But Sir A. Campbell thought otherwise. The plan was recommended to the rajah after he was seated on the throne, but was soon strongly opposed at the instigation of his servants.

"A faint show, indeed, was made. A small house was appointed, where four judges should hear causes. It was at first open, but soon a cross wall was built, so that none could observe the proceedings.

"One or two of the judges had a laudable desire to act impartially; but their good intentions were frustrated by the servants of the rajah. The judges were obliged to wait for leave to hear a law-suit. When they had got permission, and hardly had begun to inquire into the business, they frequently were interrupted by messages from the rajah's servants. They were desired not to go on. Particularly those dubashes who had lent money to the rajah, acted as masters. They had the power of confining and punishing people, and whoever was supported by them, let his cause be never so unjust, came off victorious—of all which unjust proceedings, whole volumes might be written. If an inquiry should be set on foot, many instances would fully prove the total want of justice in this country. One man was supported by Chinnia Moodely, (a powerful money-lender.) The injustice of his interfering was so glaring to the judges, to the rajah and his minister, that Shevarow said, 'What can I do when Chinnia intercedes for the unjust party?' Another inhabitant was prosecuted by Chinnia; he retired with many others to Karikal, but got the rajah's cowl, at Mr. Ram's request, to come and speak for himself. He came, was acquitted, and went home. Chinnia hearing this at Madras, sent a letter ordering that person to be confined and beaten, and even now he is still under confinement. The sirkeel promised to release him, but being afraid of

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Chinnia's resentment, did not think it proper to accomplish his promise.

"The judges feeling their own want of power, entreated the rajah to permit them to retire, because their endeavors to do justice became totally useless.

"This being the injurious method of acting, the inhabitants became disheartened and unwilling to go on vigorously in the cultivation. Last year many promises were made to them, but never fulfilled. Those given by the late rajah before his decease, are totally disregarded. Before the inhabitants reap, they are obliged to pay a part of their tribute; having no money, they go to the rapacious dubashes to borrow at exorbitant interest; not being able to pay it, that is added to the original sum, and a new premium is often charged. When Mr. Petrie was here, an order was issued that none should pay more than twelve per cent. per annum, but soon disregarded. No country, though the most fertile, is able to bear such oppressions.

"And as no relief is to be expected from hence, it would be the highest benefit which government could bestow on this oppressed country, if, without lessening the authority of the rajah, it should privately insist upon the introduction of justice in a regular manner, before the alleviation made by the honorable Company was published. It would then rejoice the rajah, and the inhabitants, if both points, viz. the kindness of the honorable Company to the rajah, and his kindness in establishing a court of justice, were published at the same time.

"As the late rajah appointed me guardian to Serfojee, the young boy whom he adopted, and as government confirmed it by enjoining me to watch over his welfare, I take the liberty to entreat the honorable board to settle his establishment. The first act done by taking him out of the miserable situation in which he was, is very great. To procure to him a suitable settlement will complete his temporal happiness. The rajah does not seem to be very willing to do that business of his own accord.

"Having nothing in view but the happiness of the rajah and his country, and the honor of the Company, both which would undoubtedly be promoted by a regular and impartial administration of justice, I hope that the honorable board will not disapprove of this my liberty which

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I have humbly taken of addressing them. Being in the country, under the protection of the English government, I wish and pray for their welfare. And lest this my address might appear as a clandestine business, I have sent it by Mr. Ram, our resident here.

"I am, with profound respect, &c. &c."

In the month of June, the government of Fort St. George was informed, that Chinnia Moodely was, by his agents, oppressing the inhabitants of a district in Tanjore to such an extent, as would speedily lead to its depopulation.

Mr. Swartz was, in consequence, desired to ascertain the facts. He accordingly sent a confidential hircarrah, who reported that the principal inhabitants had left the place, and were gone into the nabob's country; that Chinnia Moodely had recalled a polygar, who had been expelled by Baba for robberies; and that this man had been again let loose on the district, and was committing depredations on the inhabitants; that a Portuguese, with an armed force, had been employed in the work of oppression; that there was then no sign of cultivation, and that the banks and water-courses were out of repair.

In the following month, the rajah was reported to be in ill-health, and admitted no person to his presence, except Mr. Swartz, who obtained an audience, and delivered to him a letter, which had been written to him by the government, complaining of the mal-administration of the rajah's servants, and calling for the payment of his kists; which latter were, after some discussion, paid in part. It was at this time proposed to the rajah, with a view to the reform of his administration, and the peace of the country, to place the collection of the revenue in the hands of the East India Company.

In August 1790, in consequence of the conduct of Mr. Swartz in the recovery of Serfojee from the oppressive custody of the rajah having been the subject of animadversion, he laid before the government a narrative of the proceedings respecting that important measure; and though they have been previously detailed, some circumstances relative to the situation of the young prince, and to his own interference in his behalf, are added in his letter to Mr. Chamier, on this occasion, which deserve to be recorded.

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After relating the history of the rajah Tuljajee's adoption of a son, his request to him to be his guardian, his advice to the rajah to appoint his brother, his accession to the throne, on the setting aside of Serfojee, and the complaints of Ameer Sing's severe treatment of him, Mr. Swartz thus proceeds:—

"An order having come from government to Mr. Macleod, and I think to Colonel Stuart, to inquire into the treatment which the boy had met with, both gentlemen sent me to the palace to see him; whom I found in a dark room, a lamp burning at his side, and no fresh air could reach it. When I saw him thus, I felt a grief which I can hardly express. With amiable simplicity, he asked me whether the children in Europe were deprived of seeing the sun and the moon. I comforted him. I then inquired whether he had any master to teach him reading and writing. Shevarow, who was present, said immediately, 'Yes, yes, he has a man to teach him!' I asked the boy; who replied, in the presence of Shevarow, 'I have none to teach me; therefore I do not know one letter.'

"Government ordered me frequently to visit him, and to inquire how he was kept. But I have not been able to do so above five or six times; because I could not get permission.

"For two years, I entreated the rajah, privately, and often in the presence of Shevarow, to show kindness to the innocent boy; to give him a room where there was a circulation of air; not to be jealous of him; assuring him that he could do him no harm; that if he would show some kindness to him, and let him sometimes enjoy fresh air, all complaints would cease."

Mr. Swartz then mentions the ineffectual admonition of Sir Archibald Campbell to the rajah, and his own repeated entreaties upon this subject; and finally details the proceedings consequent upon the order of Governor Holland, by which Serfojee was rescued. In this part of his narrative, the following passage occurs, which illustrates his calm fearlessness in the fulfilment of what he conceived to be his duty, and the inviolable integrity of the excellent missionary.

"The rajah desired that Mr. Ram might wait some (I

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think ten) days. He said, 'I must obey the order, and put the boy under a sepoy guard!' The rajah at last said, 'Mr. Swartz, stay *you* here with the boy this night, that the sepoys may not be called into this interior part of the palace!' I asked Mr. Ram and the colonel what I should do. They said that 'it depended upon me; but that they were content with my staying with the boy!' I accordingly consented to stay. Mr. Ram and the colonel went away. The rajah, Shevarow, and myself, were alone. I then said, 'This uneasiness his excellency oweth to *you*, Shevarow. You intended to ingratiate yourself by those cruel severities which you made the boy to suffer. How often have I begged you to desist; how often have I told you, that the honorable Company, and the English nation, to whose protection the boy was delivered by the late rajah, in the presence of Mr. Hudleston, Colonel Stuart, and me, would not suffer those severities?' Shevarow said, 'You have told us all this, but,' &c. The rajah then observed, 'As you are our friend, why did you not this very morning send me word that such an order had been sent to Mr. Ram?' I replied, 'Ten days ago I entreated you to prevent the present uneasiness; and that was an act of friendship. But to give you notice of government's letter, after it had been confidentially communicated to the colonel and me, would have been treachery, which your excellency must never expect from me.'

"The rajah and Shevarow then told me, I might go home. Astonished at this proposition, 'What!' said I, 'to become guilty of a breach of faith? Even my father should not be permitted to make such a proposal!' Upon this declaration, they left me with precipitation; and I remained with the poor boy that night, who, as I observed, walked as if he was lame. I inquired the reason of it. 'I have not,' said he, 'been able to sleep, but have been sitting clasping my hands about my knees, on account of the innumerable insects in my room. My sinews are a little contracted, but I hope I shall soon recover.' The next day he was conducted to his new apartment by Colonel Stuart and Mr. Ram. The indignities which were then offered to him, I will not minutely relate; but they all showed the high degree of the rajah's jealousy.

"A brahmin, who formerly taught Mr. Burke, and

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afterwards Mr. Blackburne, the Mahratta language, was appointed (by my recommendation) to teach him reading and writing. His excellency's letter says, that *my servants* were employed for that purpose. But the writer of that letter knew that the brahmin had never been my servant. The boy has made a good use of the opportunity given to him. He reads and writes the Mahratta language, and is very willing to learn English. The letter says, that Mr. Ram visited the boy, and that I accompanied him; which is true. I inquired how he improved in learning, and admonished the brahmin not to be remiss in teaching him; which I thought was quite agreeable to the late rajah's desire."

In September, Mr. Swartz appears to have been the active intermediate agent between the government and the rajah, relative to the adjustment of the revenue accounts.

In this month, it was considered to be necessary, for the security of the Company's interests, to assume the management of the revenues of Tanjore; against which the rajah protested, and appealed to the Court of Directors. It appears that, in the whole of the proceedings, Mr. Swartz was consulted, as noticed by Messrs. Ram and Fallofield, the resident and collector, in the following paragraph of a letter, dated the 28th of September 1790.

"The Rev. Mr. Swartz was consulted, agreeably to the Board's orders, upon every material step we have hitherto taken; a line of conduct we shall continue invariably to pursue."

It is important to add, that the rajah himself, in his correspondence with the government, expressed a decided preference to Mr. Swartz, as the medium of communication between them.

On the 24th of the same month, the government directed Messrs. Ram and Fallofield to transmit their sentiments as to the provision which should be made for Serfojee, and for the mother and widows of the late rajah, in order that steps might be taken to establish a liberal and permanent allowance for their support; adding,

"You are, upon this and upon all occasions, to avail yourselves of the knowledge and experience of Mr. Swartz, and to consult with him freely; as his known probity and

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love of justice entitle him to every attention on the part of government."

An establishment was accordingly formed pursuant to his recommendation, amounting to one thousand and seventy-seven star pagodas monthly for Serfojee and his relatives, and one thousand star pagodas each to the three widows of the deceased rajah.

The confidence reposed in the venerable missionary was unbounded; an additional instance of which was shortly afterwards afforded, in consequence of the continued objections of Ameer Sing to the allowances fixed by the government for the family of the late rajah. It was at length resolved, that "if his excellency persist in his refusal to receive those allowances, they should be advanced by the collectors to the Rev. Mr. Swartz, and by him be distributed to the parties concerned."—A more honorable proof of the high estimation in which this excellent man was held by the English government, can scarcely be imagined, and it is almost needless to add how justly it was deserved.

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CHAPTER XVII.

Letters to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and to several friends—Progress of Mr. Jœnicke—School at Cumbagonam—Renewal of the war with Tippoo—Ordination of Sattianaden—His Sermon on that occasion—He is sanctioned by the Society—Visit from the Rev. Mr. Cammerer—His Character of Mr. Swartz—Extracts from his Journal for 1791—Letters to friends.

In acknowledging the arrival of the annual stores sent out by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Swartz, in a letter dated the 10th of January, 1790, gratefully observes, that he and his brethren had reason to adore the mercy of God, and to say, "Hitherto the Lord has guarded, guided, and protected us." Mr. Kohlhoff had assisted him faithfully in the church, and in the schools, and Mr. Jœnicke had made amazing progress in learning the English and Tamul languages. The catechists and schoolmasters at Tanjore and at Palamcotta, amounted to ten. Their salaries, the charge of supporting the schools, the repairs of old houses and the building of new ones, and the extraordinary allowances to the catechists when sent to distant places, were such, he states, that were it not for his salary from the East India Company, it would be impossible to defray all the necessary expenses.

In a second letter of the same date, after again adverting to the promising advancement of Mr. Jœnicke in the Tamul language, Mr. Swartz adds, that the sermons composed by this diligent student were corrected by himself; but that in a short time he would stand in no need of such assistance. "It would then," he said, "be necessary

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to determine upon the station for his missionary labors, whether at Madras or at Palamcotta, where the congregation was considerably increasing. In that quarter he thought more success would be experienced, as the people there had less connection with Europeans. On the other hand, Mr. Gericke at Madras much needed assistance, which, however, he hoped would be afforded by the Society soon sending out another missionary. Should God call him away," he observes, "Mr. Gericke would then reside at Tanjore, and Mr. Kohlhoff go to Palamcotta, or they might alternately be at each place. These speculations, however, he humbly submitted to the determination of divine Providence. They had then," he said, "no comfortable prospect before them; being apprehensive that the poor country would experience another devastation; though it had scarcely begun to lift up its head from the ravages occasioned by the last war."

In this letter Swartz communicates his intention of establishing a provincial school at Cumbagonam, one of the principal places in Tanjore. A very good spot had been granted to him by the rajah, and he had begun to lay the foundation of the building which he intended to be used as a place of divine worship. Whether the war they were dreading would prevent his proceeding with the work, a short time would show.

The intention thus announced, as to an additional school, was soon afterwards fulfilled, as appears by the following extracts from a letter to Mr. Pasche, dated July 21, 1790, in which, among other useful and interesting matter, he first mentions the design of ordaining his pious and excellent catechist, Sattianaden.

"God has graciously strengthened me hitherto, so that I have been enabled to do my work both among Christians and heathens. Meanwhile, I feel the approaches of age, being near the completion of my sixty-fourth year; but as long as I live, and have any strength left, I shall gladly take my share in the work.

"In order to relieve the missionaries, I intend to ordain one of the native catechists of the name of Sattianaden, whose upright, disinterested, serious walk and conversation, flowing from sincere attachment to Christ, has attracted the notice of Mr. Jœnicke, and really, as to my own feelings, I cannot but esteem this native teacher

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higher than myself. He has a particular talent in conversing with his countrymen. One of the principal labors of a missionary ought to be to train up young natives for future catechists. Whenever I meet with a promising youth, I spare neither pains nor expense to qualify him for the work.

"I have built a school house at Cumbagonam, which has been attended with considerable expense. Such schools are the very best means of communicating the knowledge of the word of God, not to the young people only, but to the inhabitants of the country at large. They may serve as a place of residence for catechists of the higher castes, who may proclaim, both in town and country, the glad tidings of the gospel. Several Malabar youths afford the pleasing hope, that in due time they will become useful assistants in our congregations, as well as in our schools.

"If God shall favor us with skilful native teachers, his work will prosper in this country. We still live in hope. The difficulties are, indeed, neither few nor small; but to sink under them would be sinful. God has removed many an obstacle during my forty years' sojourn in this land; and he who has hitherto been with us, will be so in future. He commanded Joshua to be 'strong and of good courage;' and the same charge is applicable to us. The eyes of many of the heathen are opened; but the cross which is connected with the profession of Christianity is to most a stumbling-block.

"With respect to the proposition to establish a village entirely inhabited by Christians, I have always entertained the apprehension, and likewise expressed it, that in the event of any commotion, such a village would be immediately burned down. On the other hand, when there are some Christian families residing in a village, the whole district may become acquainted with the counsel of God for their salvation."

In the same month he wrote as follows to his kind and valued friends at Madras. The close of his letter contains a striking expression of the deep humility of this eminent servant of God.

"Tanjore, July 28, 1790.

"My dear Friends,—It is now a good while since I sent you a line. Nay, I have been so lazy as to neglect to

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thank Mr. Duffin for the excellent book he sent me. I have perused those 'Chinese Fragments'* carefully, and am sorry that all is but too true. May these melancholy truths lead many to repentance!

"The 17th of July I finished my fortieth year of pilgrimage here in this country, as I arrived July 17, 1750. How many thousand benefits have I received from a merciful God! How grateful I ought to have been! But alas! I must say, 'Forgive, forgive all my multiplied iniquities, for the sake of Jesus.' Indeed, my dear friends, our salvation consists in being pardoned. May we all be able to say, as Paul did, 'We have obtained mercy.' Amen, be it so! God bless you both in all respects. This is, and shall be, the sincere wish of your most obedient servant and friend."

War had now again commenced between the ambitious successor of Hyder Ali and the British Government in India, as Swartz had anticipated; and to this event he alludes in the following letter to one of the same excellent friends at the close of this year. The elevated piety which it breathes, cannot but be edifying.

"Tanjore, Dec. 3, 1790.

"Dear Madam,—We are all tolerably well. The country people complain of want of rain; besides, they come into the fort by hundreds and thousands on account of Tippoo's horse. About Trichinopoly the villages are burnt, and many of the people wounded. How much have those poor inhabitants suffered! It is said that General Meadows is at Caroor. If this be true, the enemy at Samiaburam will not long remain in his present condition.

"The poor people had hardly begun to breathe after the last destructive war. Now they are again in constant terror. But still they will not acknowledge the hand that strikes them.

"How happy are they who, from their infancy, have been brought up in the knowledge of truth; for I find that those who have been educated in idolatry and error, shake off their error and superstition with great difficulty. Ig-

* By the late Ely Bates, Esq., the elegant author of "Rural Philosophy."

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norance and wickedness hinder them. But a wicked Christian knows at least the way to happiness; and therefore has but one hinderance to overcome—namely, his evil course. But unspeakably happier are those who have been awakened by the Spirit of God, to turn to him who is the source of happiness; who look upon sin as poison, and all worldly things as dross, (which is unable to make them happy,) in order to win Christ, and to be found in him.

"If we win Christ and his atonement, we surely possess the greatest gain—pardon of sins, peace of mind, and hope of everlasting life. The conveniences which worldly things afford us, are not to be compared to these divine blessings.

"If we are found in Christ as branches in a vine, we shall derive from him blessings of every kind, and strength to grow in all Christian virtues. In him we are preserved, cheered, comforted at all times, in sickness and health, in life and in death. O, may we be found in him even at the day of judgment!

"May the peace of God reign in your heart at all times! This peace will preserve you."

The renewal of the war with Tippoo excited considerable alarm at Tanjore, and some apprehensions were entertained of an attack from the Mohammedan troops. This danger was, however, happily averted, by the English army under Lord Cornwallis entering Mysore; and the missionaries continued to discharge their peaceful duties without interruption.

Early in the year 1791, Swartz informed the Society of the accomplishment of his intention respecting the ordination of Sattianaden. Previous to that time, the missionaries at Tranquebar permitted one of their country priests occasionally to visit Palamcotta; but as one of them died, and the other became an invalid, the English missionaries thought it expedient to confer their Lutheran ordination on one of their own native catechists, who had performed the functions of that subordinate office for many years, and had given ample proofs of ability and faithfulness. Accordingly, on the 26th of December, 1790, Sattianaden received ordination at the hands of the missionaries, ac-

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cording to the rites of the Lutheran church, in one of the congregations of the mission connected with the Society, on the coast of Coromandel. On this interesting occasion, he delivered a sermon in the Malabar or Tamul language, an English translation of which, by Mr. Kohlhoff, Swartz transmitted to this country.

The Society justly deeming a production so extraordinary, worthy of being generally known, directed it to be published* for the satisfaction of the members at large, "in order to evince the capacity of the natives for the work of the ministry, and as an evidence that the efforts of their missionaries in India had not been in vain; but that the work of God was advancing, and the light of the gospel spreading through those regions of darkness and idolatry."

This Sermon of Sattianaden is certainly a very remarkable composition. That it was his genuine production, is attested by Swartz himself, who was incapable of affirming any thing but the strictest truth. It is founded on that striking and encouraging declaration of the prophet Ezekiel, chap. xxxiii. 11, "As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye, from your evil ways, for why will ye die, O house of Israel?" From this instructive and affecting passage, the pious Hindoo considered the gracious offers of divine mercy to all mankind; the inestimable blessings of divine forgiveness and grace which they comprise; and the method of obtaining them by repentance and faith in Jesus Christ. In the discussion of these important points, he evinced much sound scriptural knowledge, together with great perspicuity and strength of thought; and notwithstanding the disadvantage of a translation, which, though scrupulously faithful, inadequately expressed the force and beauty of the original, a simple and tender strain of eloquence pervades the whole, which powerfully accredits the sincerity of its author, and sufficiently proved his qualifications for the office of a Christian teacher.

The necessity so deeply felt, and so continually urged, by the English missionaries, of additional fellow-laborers,

* It is contained at length in the Abstract of the Society's Reports, pp. 325—356, and, together with the prayers before and after the sermon, well deserves perusal.

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and the importance of investing pious and well qualified natives with the ministerial character, led even at this period to the conviction, on the part of some of the friends of the mission, of the expediency of some measure for securing episcopal ordination; nor would any one have more cordially rejoiced in such a provision for the spiritual wants of India than Swartz, who having been himself episcopally ordained, would have hailed with delight the establishment of our apostolical church, which has since been so happily planted in India. For the present, he was contented to supply the increasing want of laborers, particularly in the South of the Peninsula, to the best of his ability, by the discipline of the Lutheran church; and in the instance in question nothing could be more judicious and successful than his choice of Sattianaden as a native teacher. That sincere and zealous convert, as soon as he had received ordination, returned to Palamcotta, where he had been before so usefully and diligently employed. "God," observes Mr. Kohlhoff, in mentioning this pleasing event, "has already blessed the labors of this worthy man, in awakening many to turn from their sins unto him; and no doubt is entertained of his proving a favored instrument in the hands of the Almighty for the enlargement of his kingdom upon earth."

With equal wisdom and kindness the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, directed their secretary to address a letter to Sattianaden, assuring him of their sanction and support, and encouraging him to fidelity and diligence in the ministry which he had recently received. This was translated by Swartz, and afforded the native pastor inexpressible joy.

Sattianaden, in a letter to Mr. Jœnicke, thus beautifully refers to his own conversion to the faith of the gospel.

"When I contemplate the ways of God, by which he led me, I am full of admiration and praise. I was once a heathen, who did not know him; and he called me by his faithful servant Mr. Swartz. This my venerable father received and instructed me. His exertions by day and by night, tended to bring me to repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, to produce in me fruits meet for repentance, to induce me to lead a godly and holy life, and to grow in knowledge, and in every grace and virtue. He did not destine me to worldly

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business, but appointed me to bring my nation to the knowledge of God, and of Jesus Christ, whom he sent to redeem the world. In consequence, he gave me the office of a catechist, and used his utmost endeavors to bring me to a more extensive knowledge. And likewise you, sir, exerted yourself to correct my errors and my failings, encouraged me to grow in godliness, and endeavored to make me more and more useful and happy. Should I be saved, which, trusting in the mercy of God, I hope to be, it will be a glory to you; and even though I should be lost, (which God forbid!) my damnation cannot diminish your glory. Now, to crown the pious exertions of my much esteemed teachers, the honorable Society has approved your proceedings, and confirmed me in the higher office committed to me; a benevolence which I shall never forget. May God grant me a truly humble mind! May he make me acceptable to himself, diligent in the performance of every duty, useful in my generation, and obedient to him and my superiors!"

Early in the following year, in writing to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Mr. Swartz gratefully acknowledges that, though past the sixty-fifth year of his age, he had great reason to bless God for the preservation of his health, and for having been enabled to persevere in the discharge of his duty; that eighty-seven heathen converts had been baptized in the course of the preceding year, the greater part of whom were cultivators of fields, a few miles from the Fort, and that houses were intended to be built for their convenient attendance upon divine service. He observes that Mr. Jœnicke, who was settled at Palamcotta, was much delighted with the good conduct of the several congregations, which had, since his residence there, received an addition of sixty-five members; and adds, that there are some really pious people in the Fort also. He then mentions, that he had lately received a visit from Mr. Cammerer, the new missionary at Tranquebar, who had remained with him three months, studying the Tamul language, and whom he believed to be an upright, sincere Christian, who would diligently do the work of an evangelist. He expresses his hope that an end would soon be put to the war, and that a more open field would thus present itself for the labors of missionaries. "Would to God," he continues, "that some la-

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borers could be sent to work in it! I am sure that some gentleman here would assist. Government would not suffer by it, but rather experience the benefit of seeing the people instructed. This I could show by undeniable proofs, and government would confirm it."

Of the visit thus mentioned from the new Tranquebar missionary, Mr. Cammerer himself gives the following particulars; which will be found scarcely less interesting than the early sketch of Mr. Swartz's character, by Mr. Chambers; and, in some respects, remarkably coincident with that striking fragment.

"Tanjore," he writes to his friends in Germany, "is a large fortified town, which underwent considerable repairs after its occupation by the English. Yet the streets remained dirty and disagreeable, and the place was very unhealthy during the rainy season. This induced Mr. Swartz to select a piece of ground of considerable dimensions, at the distance of about two miles, which he cultivated and formed into a garden, where he erected several houses, and a small church. In the immediate vicinity of this garden, the native Christians settled, and he lives amongst them like a father. My stay at Tanjore was to have been limited to the 25th of October, my presence being much wanted by the Tranquebar brethren; but Mr. Swartz wished for an extension of the time, being desirous that I should make considerable progress in the Malabar tongue; and it so happened that the rains this season were more violent than was ever recollected by the oldest inhabitants. I could not, in consequence, return, without endangering my life. Under these circumstances, my residence with that excellent man was delayed until the 14th of December.

"Nothing could possibly afford me more lively satisfaction than the society of Mr. Swartz. His unfeigned piety, his real and conscientious attention to every branch of his duties, his sincerity,—in short, his whole demeanor filled me with reverence and admiration. He treated me like a brother, or rather like a tender parent, and instructed me in the most agreeable manner in the Malabar language. The same did Mr. Kohlhoff, who is meekness and humility itself. Many an evening passed away, as if it had been but a single moment, so exceedingly interesting proved the conversation of this truly venerable man, and his re-

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lations of the singular and merciful guidance of God, of which he had experienced so many proofs throughout his life, but particularly during the dreadful wars in India. The account he gave of the many dangers to which his life had been exposed, and the wonderful manner in which it was often preserved, his tender and grateful affection towards God, his fervent prayers and thanksgivings, his gentle exhortations constantly to live as in the presence of God, zealously to preach the gospel, and entirely to resign ourselves to God's kind providence—all this brought many a tear into my eyes, and I could not but ardently wish that I might one day resemble Swartz. His disinterestedness, his honorable manner of conducting public business, procured him the general esteem both of Europeans and Hindoos. Every one loved and respected him, from the king of Tanjore to the humblest native.

"Nor was he less feared; for he reproved them, without respect to situation and rank, when their conduct deserved animadversion; and he told all persons without distinction, what they ought to do, and what to avoid, to promote their temporal and eternal welfare. The king frequently observed, that in the world much was effected by presents and gold, and that he himself had done much by those means; but that with Padre Swartz they answered no purpose. This excellent man often told me, that the favor of God, and communion with Christ, was of greater value to him than 'thousands of gold and silver.' Certainly, by the goodness of God, he has been made a great blessing to this country. What other men could not effect without a military force, he has done by the personal influence which he possessed over the people, and which arose exclusively from his integrity and sincere piety.

"A few miles from Tanjore, two brahmins enticed a child of rich parents, splendidly adorned with gold and precious stones, into their pagoda, where they put him to death. The government of Madras desired Mr. Swartz to investigate this horrid deed. He accordingly examined the murderers in the king's palace, and brought them to confess the crime. They were afterwards executed.

"While on a visit at Cumbagonam, Mr. Swartz conversed with a brahmin who had considerable landed property, entreating him with much affection to turn to the true God. A few weeks afterwards, we heard that he

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had died, and that his wife was burned alive with his corpse. Although this happens less frequently than formerly, yet, in many instances, it takes place, and that from two motives: one is superstition; the poor widow believing that she shall attain to a higher degree of happiness after death: the other is the fear of being despised by her relations, in case she should not manifest an affection sufficiently strong, to devote herself to the funeral pile with her husband. When Mr. Swartz learns beforehand that such an inhuman sacrifice is about to take place, he exerts his utmost influence to prevent it; and in these endeavors he has often succeeded.

"His garden is filled from morning till late in the evening with natives of every rank, who come to him to have their differences settled; but, rather than his missionary duties should be neglected, the most important cases are delayed.

"Both morning and evening he has a service, at which many of the Christians attend. A short hymn is first sung; after which he gives an exhortation on some passage of Scripture, and concludes with a prayer. Till this is over, every one, even the most respectable, is obliged to wait. The number of those who come to him to be instructed in Christianity is great. Every day individuals attend, requesting him soon to establish a Christian congregation in their part of the country.

"During my stay, about thirty persons, who had been previously instructed, were baptized. He always performs the service with such solemnity, that all present are moved to tears. He has certainly received from God a most peculiar gift of teaching the truths of religion. Heathens of the highest rank, who never intend to become worshippers of the true God, and disciples of Jesus Christ, hear his instructions with pleasure. During an abode of more than forty years in this country, he has acquired a profound knowledge of the customs, manners, and character of the people. He expresses himself in the Tamul language as correctly as a native. He can immediately reply to any question, and refutes objections so well, that the people acknowledge, 'We can lay nothing to the charge of this priest.'

"The time having arrived for my return to Tranquebar, it was not without the deepest regret that I parted from

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this excellent man. Besides making considerable progress in the Malabar language, I derived great benefit for my immortal soul. On my taking leave, he said, shaking hands with much warmth, 'O that we may meet again before the throne of God! I wish once more to see my friends on the coast, and to take my farewell of them.'"

The journal of Swartz for this year contains a striking illustration of Mr. Cammerer's remark as to the respect in which he was held, both by the English government and the rajah of Tanjore, and of his beneficial influence even in civil concerns, combined, as it ever was, with his unabated zeal and piety.

"When the present king," he observes, "ascended the throne, I was desired to form the outline of a plan for the better administration of justice and the laws. I did so; and it was transmitted to England, and approved. This year the directors sent out orders to have my plan carried into execution; and the governor of Madras desired me to superintend it. This greatly increased my labors; but for the sake of the poor inhabitants, I could not refuse the office.

"As many of the natives daily come to me from all parts of the country, I had the best opportunity of declaring to them the counsel of God, for their salvation. Those who came at seven in the morning, attended our morning prayers. Others, who called at eight, heard the instructions given to the candidates for baptism. Sometimes forty or fifty persons are present, both of high and low castes. Frequently from fifteen to twenty brahmins are sitting by while I am catechising. I say to them, 'Sit down, and you will hear what doctrines we teach. I trust you will dedicate yourselves to the service of your Creator and Redeemer, and forsake your wretched idolatry!' They quietly sit down for an hour, and hear every thing I have to say. Thirty years ago, they would have looked upon this as the greatest scandal. May God be merciful to them, and incline their hearts not only to hear, but to receive the truth in the love of it!

"My hope that this country will be brought to a saving knowledge of the gospel, daily gains strength; but whether I shall live to see the change, the Lord only knows—nor, indeed, is it material. My chief care is to

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train up young people in the service of Christ. Mr. Jœnicke observed, 'I wish we had a few more young men like Sattianaden.' Yes, I replied: the Lord of the harvest can call others. May He only grant us a single aim, and humble hearts! Then his blessing will not be wanting: but if we harbor sordid motives, we cannot expect it."

How admirable and instructive are such reflections; and what might not be expected from the united exertions and prayers of a few such laborers!

In another part of the journal for 1791, Swartz thus mentions one of the benevolent methods he adopted for supplying some of his native converts with the means of support.

"I sometimes employ poor widows in spinning. They bring the yarn to a Christian weaver, who makes good cloth for a trifling sum. Some widows bruise rice, and sell it; others support themselves by selling fruit. When I visit these poor women on an afternoon, I first catechise them, and then get them to show me their work, as a proof of their industry. Labor is constantly necessary for them, not only as an occupation, but to fix their minds on an object during the hours of solitude.

"The great wish of our hearts is, that those who have been instructed in our religion, may lead a life conformable to its holy precepts. Some, indeed, bring forth the fruits of faith; as for others, we labor with patience, in hope of seeing them turn to the Lord.

"A short time since, an old man was interred, whose life and death were a great consolation to us. He was a man of some property in land and cattle, and left the whole to his children, exhorting them in his last moments to follow his example, and become disciples of Jesus Christ. But, alas! they were far from being so inclined. His whole heart was fixed upon God, and he sought and found salvation, by repentance and faith in the great Redeemer, and by a steady course of consistent piety. He was indefatigable in prayer, never gave way to a spirit of discontent, but always enjoyed a happy frame of serenity and peace. Many heathens who knew him were wont to say, 'If there be not another sincere Christian among those who have been instructed, this good old man cer-

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tainly is one.' In his last illness, he was visited by the catechists and ourselves. The day of his departure I said to him, 'My dear friend, it seems as if the Lord designed to call you away to-day.' 'Yes,' returned he; 'I am ready to go; and my soul exclaims, Come, Lord Jesus! I am willing to follow thee!' Shortly after, one of the catechists asked him how he found himself. 'Very well,' he replied, and expired. His death produced a general sensation. The children in the schools, who revered him as a father, followed him, singing hymns, with a great concourse of Christians, and heathens, and strewed his grave with flowers. All the brethren were convinced, that his life was truly Christian, and his end happy. His memory will be blessed."

In a letter to a friend, dated "Tanjore, January 24, 1792," Swartz thus expresses his perception of advancing years, and his increasing anxiety for additional help.

"I am now in the 66th year of my age, and I cannot but bless God that I am still able to perform all my usual functions, both in the church and in the schools. Nature certainly begins to decay; but as long as God shall grant me any degree of strength, I will gladly spend it in laboring in his vineyard. The harvest is at present truly great, but the laborers are few: we therefore earnestly pray that the Lord would send laborers into his harvest; and we urgently entreat all our friends and patrons in Europe to do their utmost to send us out faithful assistants in this work. In the last year, the increase of converts was considerable. Our three schools in this place go on well, and also that at Cumbagonam, and another at Paliamkodi. In the latter place, above sixty persons have been converted to Christianity."

The continued affection of Swartz for the widow and children of his friend, Colonel Wood, was in this year expressed in the following pious and interesting letter.

"Tanjore, March 9, 1792.

"Your favor of January 13, 1791, I have received. I am happy at the pleasing account of your better health. I am now in the 66th year of my age, and am so well that I can go through the duties of my office without much fatigue. However, I think now daily of my de-

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parture. My time is in the hand of God; but, considering my age, my quitting this world cannot be far off.

"I adore the unspeakable mercy of God, who has dealt so very kindly with me in all respects. He has given me a knowledge of his unspeakably great love in Christ; he pardoneth my sins, heals my infirmities, and I hope that he will crown me with glory. Moreover, he has been pleased to make me an instrument of his grace to instruct others; some of whom I shall find in a blessed eternity, with whom I shall sing the praises of redeeming love. In short, if I complain, it must be of myself, and of my frequent acts of disobedience and ingratitude; but of my God and Redeemer I have no reason to complain.

"Dear madam, we have known one another in this pilgrimage. O that we may see one another in glory!

"Remember me to your dear children. Your eldest daughter is, I hope, 'a joyful mother of children.' Put her often in mind to bring them up in the knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ; and not according to the fancies of the world. Your youngest daughter, M., is now married likewise to a clergyman.* May she also look out for the best part! But where is your second daughter, E.? Is she still with you? Before this reaches you, I hope you have seen your dear son. May he imitate Cornelius, desirous of hearing and receiving the word of truth!

"Many of your clergymen make little of a Redeemer. Dr. Price's book of sermons was sent me: I perused them—was shocked with his doctrine, cut the book in pieces, and buried it. They destroy the foundation of happiness and true holiness. What can they build? Paul was another master-builder, who knew of no other foundation than Jesus Christ.†

"Mr. Breithaupt is a plain and serious Christian. Mr. Gericke and he live close together. Mr. F—— is dead. He seemed to be sorry for what he had done. His memory failed him; but he had no severe sickness. He supped heartily, and began to tremble, and died.

"God bless you, and your dear children."

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* The late Rev. and excellent Basil Woodd.

† Dr. Price, the celebrated dissenting minister, was a professed Arian; but candid and benevolent as Swartz was, in the truest sense of those terms, he could not endure a doctrine which so directly derogates from the glory of Christ, and entered deeply into the spirit of the beloved apostle's injunction, 2 John 10.

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To the latter, Swartz added :—

"As I wrote to-day some lines to your dear mamma, I thought it necessary to add a line or two to you, to indulge the pleasure of mind, which I find in talking of or to you.

"Your old friend is still alive, going about to preach the glad tidings concerning a Redeemer, who came to save that which was lost. As this blessed Jesus is called, with the greatest propriety, the 'Consolation of the nations,' I hope you seek all true comfort in Him. By Him you shall be made wise; for He is the author of all wisdom. In and by Him you shall obtain a full and atoning righteousness, as He has fulfilled the law of God, and satisfied divine justice for us; in and by Him we shall be truly sanctified, and restored to the image of God; because he has not only given us the best rules for holiness, but has set us an example of unspotted holiness, and, which is our greatest comfort, has purchased for us the grace of his Holy Spirit; nay, is now able to send this blessed Spirit into our hearts. In and by Jesus, we shall be delivered from all evil and calamity, and introduced into the presence of God. Should not such a Saviour be precious in our sight? St. Paul counted all things but loss in comparison with the excellency of the knowledge of his Saviour. Whatever worldly people say, they will one day or other be of Paul's opinion.

"I pray to God to enable you to show by your conduct, before all the world, that Jesus is the highest object of your desires and wishes. Worldly riches and honors are not sinful in themselves; nay, ought to be used with thankfulness to God, but with a becoming care and vigilance, lest they become a snare to us."

After repeated inquiries, the venerable Dr. Schultz, of Halle, succeeded, in the course of this year, in obtaining, in the Rev. C. W. Pæzold, who had been educated at Wittemberg, one whom he could recommend to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, for the arduous work of a missionary. In the month of October, Mr. Pæzold arrived in England, and, previously to his departure for India, a charge was delivered to him, at the request of the Society, by the late Rev. Dr. Glasse.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

Harsh treatment of Serfojee and the Widows of Tuljajee, by Ameer Sing—Letter from Serfojee to Mr. Swartz—He transmits their Complaints to the Governor of Madras—The Widows and Serfojee, accompanied by Mr. Swartz, are removed to that Presidency—Proceedings commenced for a renewed Investigation of Serfojee's Adoption—Administration of Tanjore Revenue restored to Ameer Sing—Swartz visits Mr. Gericke at Vepery—Their mutual testimony—Account of the Collaries—Mr. Jœnicke and Sattianaden at Palmacotta—Death of Mr. Chambers—Letter of Swartz to his Widow.

THOUGH the adopted son of the late rajah of Tanjore had been rescued from the control of his successor, as already related, in the year 1790, the jealousy and animosity of Ameer Sing towards Serfojee, and the widows of his late brother, continued unabated, and had proceeded to so great a length during the two following years, that, in November 1792, it became absolutely necessary for the English government again to interfere for their protection.

It appears that the son-in-law of Ameer Sing, the husband of his only child, had recently died, without offspring. In the agony of his grief, as it may be charitably concluded, for a loss which deprived him of the hope of posterity, the rajah strangely imputed this unhappy event to enchantments practised by the Baie Sahebs, (widows of Tuljajee,) by means of a Persary. He even accused them of plotting, by the same abominable arts, against his own life; and, after condemning the Persary to be hanged, for the alleged witchcraft, he caused a proclamation to be publicly read under the windows of the Baie Sahebs's residence, accusing them of instigating the wretched man to this atrocious crime.

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While the rajah thus unjustly accused the widows of his late brother, he himself was guilty of something more palpably injurious, by causing a quantity of chillies, (long pepper,) and other ingredients, to be burnt under the windows of Serfojee's apartments; by which he and his attendants were nearly suffocated.

The following translation of a letter from Serfojee to his venerable friend and guardian, describes, with great simplicity, and with every appearance of truth, other instances of persecution and annoyance which he was then enduring. It will be read with some interest, as the production of a Hindoo prince, whose history is so intimately connected with that of Swartz.

"I will not," he writes, "again explain the various vexations which I have hitherto suffered from Ameer Sing, Maha rajah, because you know them, and have mentioned them to government.

"Though the governor has often admonished Ameer Sing to behave friendly to me, he has disregarded all exhortations.

"That I still live, I owe to the kindness of government.

"I will only mention one of the last grievances caused by Ameer Sing. Sultshana Baie Saheb behaved to me as a mother from my infancy. Upon her recent death, I wished to honor her by performing the funeral rites. But as the governor and council determined that Ameer Sing should fulfil that duty, I was quiet. As he insisted upon it, he should have performed it; but instead of this, he sent a hired man, and he himself went out of the Fort as soon as the corpse was carried away; which disrespect to my mother grieved me very much.

"He continues to torment us. My teachers he prevents from coming to me. My servants he confines; so that hardly any one will stay with me. When a merchant comes to sell cloth to me, the merchant and his cloth are detained. I would mention many things more; but why should I trouble you with all my griefs? I entreat you to send this my letter to the honorable Board, and to beseech them either to call me to Madras, which I heartily wish, or to put a guard of Europeans near the gate, to

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protect me and my two mothers; or to give me a room out of the Fort, in your garden.

"I entreat you to lay my grief before the honorable Board. Now they can help me; and I trust that they will protect me."

In transmitting the preceding letter to Sir Charles Oakley, who had succeeded to the presidency at Madras, Mr. Swartz, after confirming the complaints of Serfojee from his own knowledge, and particularly noticing the confinement of a brahmin in his service, informed the governor, that on hearing of the latter circumstance he wrote to the rajah, requesting to know whether this had been done by his order, and reminding him, that it was altogether contrary to the will of the honorable Board, and to the decree of the Court of Directors, of May 6, 1791.

"The animosity," he added, "is rather too great; so that if some effectual means are not used, none knows what may happen."

In another letter to Sir Charles Oakley, he observed, that the rajah was in so dreadful an agitation, "that it would not be surprising if he should fall into a state of sickness, which he without doubt would ascribe to witchcraft."

"That Serfojee, and the ladies," he continued, "are in danger, is very obvious and acknowledged by all. They have desired me to acquaint Lord Cornwallis with all this shameful work."

The general impression which the extraordinary conduct of the rajah, thus detailed, produced both at Tanjore and Madras, was that he was disordered in his intellects, and he was informed by government that he would not be intrusted with the management of his country, until his mind should be more composed: In fact, it was found necessary, for this and other reasons, to retain the administration of the revenue for a few months longer.

It is remarkable that, in consequence of the rajah's former ill-treatment of Serfojee, government had been induced to consult Mr. Swartz as to the expediency of removing both him and the widow queens to Madras, and of declaring Serfojee presumptive heir to the Musnud. Before, however, the despatch containing that proposition could have reached Tanjore, Mr. Swartz's letter to Sir

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Charles Oakley, communicating the rajah's outrageous behavior, arrived; and left no doubt as to the necessity of removing Serfojee immediately from his perilous situation. Orders were accordingly transmitted to Tanjore, that Serfojee and the Baie Sahebs should be rescued from the vexatious interference of Ameer Sing; and that they and such members of their family as were willing to accompany them, should be invited to Madras, where they would live unmolested, and the education of Serfojee, which had hitherto been much impeded, might be duly attended to.

On the 21st of November this plan, so contrary in some respects to the usual habits of Hindoo females, was carried into effect. A detachment of the company's troops, with the assistance of Mr. Swartz, accomplished the removal of Serfojee and the widows, from the palace of the late rajah, without occasioning the least disturbance. They soon afterwards left Tanjore, and on the 10th of January, 1793, the whole party, accompanied by their faithful friend and protector, safely reached the presidency. Ameer Sing, dreading the exposure of his folly, used his utmost endeavors to prevail upon them to remain; but they could not be persuaded to forego their intention. In addition to the immediate object of their personal safety and comfort, they had resolved to take this opportunity of stating their conviction of the validity of Serfojee's adoption, and of obtaining such a full investigation of his claims as might lead to the deposition of Ameer Sing, and the elevation of Serfojee to the throne.

The proceedings, which at length issued in the accomplishment of these important events, appear to have commenced by communications on the part of the widows of the late rajah, and of Mr. Swartz, as the guardian of Serfojee, to Lord Cornwallis, who had recently given peace to India at the close of an arduous and successful contest with Tippoo Sultan. These consisted of documents and proofs so clear and satisfactory, that no doubt could be entertained as to the result of the investigation; and it may seem difficult to account for the delay which took place in bringing it to a conclusion. The return of the governor-general to Europe, in the course of that year might, perhaps, have contributed to it. Certain it is, that it was not till four years afterwards, that the question was finally decided. It will, therefore, be expedient to suspend the farther consideration of it till that period.

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In the mean time, it may not be irrelevant to observe, that the administration of the revenue of Tanjore was restored to Ameer Sing, in July 1793, an arrangement which the Court of Directors would willingly have deferred till the determination of the inquiry into the rights of Serfojee.

During the assumption of Tanjore by the Madras government, the judicial regulations proposed by Mr. Swartz were carried into effect by the collectors with much benefit to the inhabitants. But no sooner had the management of the country again devolved on Ameer Sing, than the old system of mal-administration recommenced; Shevarow and his brothers regained, and even increased, their former ascendancy; having the rajah so completely in their power, that they did not scruple openly to declare that he owed his elevation to them, and that whenever they pleased they were able to dethrone him.

Mr. Swartz having settled Serfojee and his relatives satisfactorily at the presidency, he consented, at the earnest desire of his missionary brethren, to spend some time at Vepery near Madras with Mr. Gericke, to assist that excellent man in his laborious work.

"Here," he says, writing to a friend in England, "I have carefully observed the regulations made by Mr. Gericke, his admirable order respecting divine service, in the Malabar, Portuguese, and English tongues. On Sunday mornings, he preaches to the Tamulian or Malabar congregation, in the afternoon, to the Portuguese, and in the evening to the English. He catechises every evening in one of these languages. I confess it has given me great satisfaction to behold that all is done with the greatest regularity and propriety. I am now his assistant in this delightful work. May God soon send him a faithful fellow-laborer! My dear brother, you may assure our venerable superiors that they will rejoice at the last day, in beholding the fruits of that work which they piously support."

The mutual testimony of two such men, as Swartz and Gericke, eminently sincere and simple as they both were, is peculiarly gratifying. It was probably about this period, that the latter gave the following brief, but beautiful sketch of his venerable senior to his friends in Germany, which, though varying in some interesting traits, so closely re-

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sembles the portraits previously drawn by Mr. Chambers and Mr. Cammerer, that it is impossible not to feel assured of the fidelity of each description to the admirable original.

"I found him," says Mr. Gericke, "as healthy and vigorous as he was several years ago. He devotes four hours every day to the instruction of English and Tamul children, and such native Christians as are prepared for baptism; after which he enters into the most cheerful and edifying conversation with those who visit him.

"The purity of his mind, his disinterestedness and strict integrity, his active zeal for the prosecution of the mission, and his constant attention to the temporal as well as spiritual prosperity of the native Christians, his indefatigable exertions to procure them the means of subsistence, his pastoral wisdom and charity, his fervor in prayer, his eminent talent of engaging the attention even of mixed companies by the manner and tone of his conversation, his peculiar skill in noticing defects and reproving faults with so friendly and cheerful an air, that even the highest and proudest are not offended—these, and many other excellent qualities, but rarely found together, render him universally beloved and respected; and even the whole of his outward deportment, his silver locks, and serenely beaming eye, and all the features of his countenance, are calculated to inspire both veneration and affection.

"I spent a whole week with this patriarch, in a very delightful manner, and almost forgot in his society that I was sick."

During his stay with Mr. Gericke, Swartz, in a letter to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, dated Madras, Feb. 3, 1793, after observing that the admonitions and pious wishes of the Society, expressed in their secretary's correspondence, were received with due veneration, and that he and his brethren had during the preceding year been preserved and encouraged in proclaiming the good tidings of salvation to the heathen around them, thus details the apparently alarming circumstances relating to the conversion of some of the natives which were before briefly alluded to.

"Many of them," he writes, "were baptized last year, and particularly some of those called kallar, who are looked upon as the worst, and somewhat resemble the thievish Arabs. These people having been instructed two months,

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were baptized. Being baptized we insisted upon their becoming industrious in their proper business. All of them had very good fields, which they were exhorted to cultivate. To these exhortations we added ocular inspection. I went and visited them in their villages. Having examined them in respect of their knowledge, and prayed with them, which was commonly done in the presence of a great many heathens, I desired to see the fruits of their industry; on which they fully satisfied me. I then exhorted them to be honest, in paying the usual rent to government, which they soon did in a pleasing manner. The appearance was agreeable, and the prospect hopeful.

"As the water-courses in their district had not been cleaned for fifteen years, by which neglect the cultivation was impeded, and the harvest lessened, I entreated the collector to advance a sum of money to clear them, promising to send people to inspect the work. The work was completely done, and those inhabitants who formerly, for want of water, had reaped only four thousand large measures, called kalam, reaped now fourteen thousand kalams, and rejoiced in the increase. The whole district reaped nearly one hundred thousand kalams more than they had done the preceding year.

"But this our joy was soon turned into grief. The heathens observing that many of their relations wished to embrace Christianity, and that such as had been baptized refused to join in their plundering expeditions, assembled and formed an encampment, threatening to extirpate Christianity. Now all looked dismal. Many of the Christians were encouraged by their relations, who were heathens, to form an opposite camp. But I exhorted the Christians to make use of other weapons, viz. prayer, humility, and patience; telling them in strong terms, that if they became aggressors, I should disown them. This disturbance lasted four months, and became very serious, as the malcontents neglected the cultivation of their own fields, and deterred others from doing it. I wrote to these misguided people, (for they had mischievous guides,) sent catechists to them, exhorted them not to commit such horrid sins, and reminded them that my former endeavors, so beneficial to them, had not merited such treatment. At last finding no opposition from the Christians, and not being willing to be looked upon as the aggressors, all went

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to their homes and work, ploughing and sowing with double diligence. My heart rejoiced at the kind overruling providence — surely he is a God that heareth prayer."

Together with the preceding letter, Swartz transmitted one from Mr. Jœnicke, who had returned to Tanjore, which contained a gratifying report of his labors in conjunction with Sattianaden, who occasionally preached for him in his native language, at Palamcotta. "The Europeans," he observed, "regularly frequented the church, to which they were encouraged by the good example of the commanding officer. The Christians in the Tinnevelly district generally resided in the country, and formed several congregations. For their use, he had erected some chapels, at the expense of Mr. Swartz. Many of those converts were Christians, not in name only but in reality. There is every reason to hope," he added, "that at a future period Christianity will prevail in the Tinnevelly country. Himself and Sattianaden had severally made journies into parts of the country where the word of God had never been preached; and the people were generally attentive, and desirous of hearing; they assembled in hundreds, and showed him every respect, and numbers had conducted him from village to village. Sattianaden had experienced the same attention. More than thirty persons came afterwards to Palamcotta to be instructed and baptized. Such happy effects," he remarked, "would often be experienced, could such journeys be frequently repeated."

In a postscript to this letter, Mr. Swartz added, that since his arrival at Madras, he had frequently conversed with Sir Charles Oakley, and represented to him the usefulness of the provincial schools, in consequence of which the governor had consented to the establishment of one or two more, as soon as opportunities should occur. It appears also that he obtained from the government a monthly allowance of forty pagodas for the Protestant poor at Negapatam. This sum still continues to be paid, and is distributed under the direction of the Society's missionaries.

It was in the course of this year that Swartz lost his distinguished and valued friend, Mr. Chambers.

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It will readily be imagined that the loss of a friend so highly and so justly esteemed as Mr. Chambers, must have been deeply felt by Swartz. It is remarkable, however, that men who, like him, have a strong and habitual impression of the frailty and uncertainty of all human things, combined with a lively faith in the infinite importance and permanent reality of things eternal, with an unshaken confidence in the wisdom and goodness of God, and with an animating hope of future happiness, are accustomed to express themselves with great calmness and moderation under the trials and vicissitudes of life, and to be chiefly anxious to promote submission to the will of God, and acquiescence in the dispensations of his providence. Such was eminently the characteristic of Buchanan, and such is the tenor of the following letter to the widow of Mr. Chambers; which, if it should be thought deficient in the warm expression of sympathizing sorrow, breathes the most exalted spirit of Christian resignation, and imparts the richest consolation.

"Dear Madam,—The loss of a dear husband, which you have sustained, is felt by you; and as he was my dear friend, with whom I had contracted an intimate friendship, is, you may be sure, felt by me. But God, who is the giver of our life, has a right to take it from us whenever he pleaseth.

"If we die in the Lord, united to him who has redeemed us, and having a share in his precious atonement, we are gainers by death, though the survivors may lose. It is therefore our duty to be resigned to the will of our Lord. 'Not my will, but thine, O Father, be done!' This is the most difficult lesson; but at the same time a lesson which is attended with the greatest blessing. It is natural to shed a tear over the grave of our dear friends; but it is truly Christian to resign our will to the will of God.

"Whatever you, dear madam, or your children have lost by the death of our friend, God is able and willing to make it up.

"When we give our hearts to him, we promise that we will be pleased with the ways in which he leads us.

"When our friends are called away, we are to remember that they are with the Lord; and that it is our happi-

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ness to be disengaged from the world, and to become heavenly minded. May the death of our deceased friend move our hearts to look upwards, and to be prepared for the coming of our Lord!

"God, who is the friend of widows and the father of the orphan, will, no doubt, take care of you and your children. Put your trust in him, and all will be well.

"Commending you and your dear children to the care, protection, and blessing of a reconciled God, I am sincerely, dear madam, your affectionate friend and humble servant, C. F. SWARTZ.

"Cuddalore, Oct. 5, 1793."

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CHAPTER XIX.

Debate in Parliament on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1793—Letter of Mr. Swartz in reply to some reflections of Mr. M. Campbell on Missionaries, in the course of that debate—Letters to friends—Revival of the discussion respecting the validity of Serfojee's adoption, and his title to the Musnud—Proceedings at the two Presidencies of Madras and Bengal—Important services of Mr. Swartz upon this occasion—High testimony to his character by Sir John Shore—Complete establishment of Serfojee's claims—Appointment of two new missionaries—Sir A. Johnstone—Declining health of Mr. Swartz—His devout and interesting reflections on this subject.

Upon the renewal of the charter of the East India Company, in the year 1793, it was resolved in a committee of the House of Commons, "that it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the legislature to promote, by all just and prudent means, the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement." In pursuance of this wise and benevolent resolution, a distinguished member of the House,* who was upon all occasions the zealous advocate of plans calculated to advance the interests of humanity and religion, and to ameliorate the condition of mankind, proposed certain clauses in the Bill then in progress for the renewal of the Company's charter, in favor of the establishment of free schools and the encouragement of Christian missionaries in India.

Important as this proposition was, and directly accord-

* The late William Wilberforce, Esq.

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ing with the professed intentions of the legislature, it was one which had at that period excited so little public attention or concern, that considering the prejudices of many persons, both in and out of Parliament, connected with India, it is not surprising that it should be unfavorably received. The late Lord Melville, then at the head of the Board of Control, acknowledged the importance of the measure, and promised not to lose sight of it, but expressed his doubts as to its present expediency, and his wish to obtain fuller information upon the subject. Mr. Wilberforce, in consequence, consented to withdraw the clauses in question; pledging himself, however, to bring them forward upon some future and more propitious occasion.*

In the course of the debate upon this interesting subject, Mr. Montgomery Campbell, who had a few years since held an official situation at Madras, took occasion to cast some severe reflections on the character of the native converts on the coast of Coromandel; and while speaking in terms of high and deserved respect of Swartz, to depreciate the value of his labors, and to treat as visionary the hope of converting the Hindoos to Christianity. The report of these injurious observations having reached him, unaccustomed as he was to controversy, and abhorrent as every appearance of boasting was from his disposition and habits, he felt it to be his duty to vindicate both his converts and himself from the unjust aspersions which had been thrown upon them, and to assert the beneficial results of missionary exertion in India.

With this view, he addressed a letter to the secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in which he triumphantly replied to the animadversions of his parliamentary opponent, and nobly vindicated the cause of missions. "Perhaps," observes a very competent judge upon this subject,† "no Christian defence has appeared in these latter ages more characteristic of the apostolic simplicity and primitive energy of truth, than this apology of the venerable Swartz."

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* How nobly this truly Christian senator redeemed his pledge, may be seen by referring to the proceedings in parliament twenty years afterwards; when an ecclesiastical establishment was provided for British India, and facilities were afforded to Christian missions in that country.

† Dr. Buchanan.—Ecclesiastical Memoir.

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The letter itself contains various particulars respecting the beneficial influence of Christianity, and of the excellent missionary and his fellow-laborers in the south of India, which have been already detailed in these Memoirs; but though many of the events and circumstances to which he refers have been thus anticipated, there is a vividness and variety in the manner in which they are related, which invests them with fresh interest, and compensates for any repetition in the narrative. Some additional facts also are mentioned, which, combined with the manly sense and elevated piety which it contains, tend greatly to strengthen the general effect of this admirable defence of Christian missions. The letter is as follows:—

"Tanjore, Feb. 13, 1794.

"Reverend and dear Sir,—As his Majesty's 74th regiment is partly stationed at Tanjore, and partly at Vellum, six English miles distant from Tanjore, we commonly go once in a week to Vellum, to perform divine service to four companies of that regiment.

"When I lately went to that place, the 210th number of a newspaper, called the Courier, Friday evening, May 24, 1793, was communicated to me.

"In that paper, I found a paragraph, delivered by Mr. Montgomery Campbell, who came out to India with Sir Archibald Campbell, in the station of a private secretary, wherein my name was mentioned in the following manner.

"'Mr. Montgomery Campbell gave his decided vote against the clause, and reprobated the idea of converting the Gentoos. It is true, missionaries have made proselytes of the Pariars; but they were the lowest order of people, and had even degraded the religion they professed to embrace.

"'Mr. Swartz, whose character was held so deservedly high, could not have any reason to boast of the purity of his followers: they were proverbial for their profligacy. An instance occurred to his recollection, perfectly in point. He had been preaching for many hours to this caste of proselytes, on the heinousness of theft, and, in the heat of his discourse, had taken off his stock, when that and his gold buckle were stolen by one of his virtuous and enlightened congregation. In such a description of natives did the doctrine of the missionaries operate. Men

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of high caste would spurn at the idea of changing the religion of their ancestors.'

"As this paragraph is found in a public paper, I thought it would not displease the honorable Society, to make a few observations on it; not to boast, (which I detest,) but to declare the plain truth, and to defend my brethren and myself.

"About seventeen years ago, when I resided at Trichinopoly, I visited the congregation at Tanjore. In my road, I arrived very early at a village inhabited by collaries, (a set of people who are infamous for stealing;) even the name of a *collary*, (or better, *kallar*,) signifieth a *thief*. These collaries make nightly excursions, in order to rob. They drive away bullocks and sheep, and whatever they can find; for which outrage, they annually pay fifteen hundred chakr, or seven hundred and fifty pagodas to the rajah. Of this caste of people,* many live in the Tanjore country; still more in Tondiman's country; and likewise in the nabob's country.

"When I arrived at one of those villages, called Pudaloor, I took off my stock, putting it upon a sand-bank. Advancing a little, to look out for the man who carried my linen clothes, I was regardless of the stock; at which time some thievish boys took it away. When the inhabitants heard of the theft, they desired me to confine all those boys, and to punish them as severely as I pleased. But I refused to do that, not thinking that the trifle which I had lost was worth so much trouble.

"That such boys, whose fathers are professed thieves, should commit a theft, can be no matter of wonder. All the inhabitants of that village were heathens; not one Christian family was found therein.† Many of our gentlemen, travelling through that village, have been robbed. The trifle of a buckle I did therefore not lose by a Christian, as Mr. Montgomery Campbell will have it, but by heathen boys. Neither did I preach at that time. Mr. Campbell says that I preached two hours. I did not so much as converse with any man. This poor story, totally

* Obviously resembling the ancient predatory tribes of Scotland.

† In the year 1809, Mr. Kohlhoff, referring, in a letter to the Society, to this story, mentions that many Christians were then to be found in that village.

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misrepresented, is alleged by Mr. M. Campbell to prove the profligacy of Christians, whom he called, with a sneer, *virtuous and enlightened people.* If he has no better proof, his conclusion is built upon a bad foundation, and I shall not admire his logic: truth is against him.

"Neither is it true, that the best part of those people who have been instructed, are pariars. Had Mr. M. Campbell visited, even once, our church, he would have observed that *more than two thirds were of the higher caste;* and so it is at Tranquebar and Vepery.

"Our intention is not to boast; but this I may safely say, that many of those who have been instructed, have left this world with comfort, and with a well-grounded hope of everlasting life. That some of those who have been instructed and baptized, have abused the benefit of instruction, is certain. But all sincere servants of God, nay, even the apostles, have experienced this grief.

"It is asserted, that a missionary is a disgrace to any country. Lord Macartney, and the late General Coote, would have entertained a very different opinion. They, and many other gentlemen, know and acknowledge, that the missionaries have been beneficial to government, and a comfort to the country. This I am able to prove in the strongest manner. Many gentlemen, who live now in England, and in this country, would corroborate my assertion.

"That the Rev. Mr. Gerické has been of eminent service at Cuddalore, every gentleman, who was at that place when the war broke out, knows. He was the instrument, in the hands of Providence, by which Cuddalore was saved from plunder and bloodshed. He saved many gentlemen from becoming prisoners to Hyder, which Lord Macartney kindly acknowledged.

"When Negapatam, that rich and populous city, fell into the deepest poverty, by the unavoidable consequences of war, Mr. Gerické behaved like a father to the distressed inhabitants. He forgot that he had a family to provide for. Many impoverished families were supported by him; so that when I a few months ago, preached and administered the sacrament in that place, I saw many who owed their own and their children's lives to his disinterested care. Surely this, my friend, could not be called a disgrace to that place. When the honorable Society

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ordered him to attend the congregation at Madras, all lamented his departure. And at Madras, he is esteemed by the governor, and many other gentlemen, to this day.

"It is a most disagreeable task to speak of one's self. However, I hope that the honorable Society will not look upon some observations which I am about to make, as a vain and sinful boasting, but rather as a necessary self-defence. Neither the missionaries, nor any of the Christians, have hurt the welfare of the country.

"In the course of the late war, the fort of Tanjore was in a very critical condition. A powerful enemy was near; the people in the fort numerous; and not provision even for the garrison. There was grain enough in the country, but we had no bullocks to bring it into the fort. When the country people formerly brought paddy into the fort, the rapacious dubashes deprived them of their due pay. Hence, all confidence was lost; so that the inhabitants drove away their cattle, refusing to assist the fort. The late rajah ordered, nay, entreated the people, by his managers, to come and help us; but all was in vain.

"At last, the rajah said to one of our principal gentlemen,—*We all, you and I, have lost our credit; let us try whether the inhabitants will trust Mr. Swartz.* Accordingly, he sent me a blank paper, empowering me to make a proper agreement with the people. There was no time for hesitation. The sepoys fell down as dead people, being emaciated with hunger. Our streets were lined with dead corpses every morning. Our condition was deplorable. I sent, therefore, letters, every where round about, promising to pay every one with my own hands; and to indemnify them for the loss of every bullock which might be taken by the enemy. In one or two days, I got above a thousand oxen, and sent one of our catechists, and other Christians, into the country. They went at the risk of their lives, made all possible haste, and brought into the fort, in a very short time, eighty thousand kalams. By this means, the fort was saved. When all was over, I paid the people, (even with some money which belonged to others,) made them a small present, and sent them home.

"The next year, when Colonel Braithwaite, with his whole detachment, was made prisoner, Major Alcock commanded this fort, and behaved very kindly to the poor

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starving people. We were then, a second time, in the same miserable condition. The enemy always invaded the country, when the harvest was nigh at hand. I was again desired to try my former expedient, and succeeded. The people, knowing that they were not to be deprived of their pay, came with their cattle. But now the danger was greater, as the enemy was very near. The Christians conducted the inhabitants to proper places, surely with no small danger of losing their lives. *Accordingly they wept, and went, and supplied the fort with grain.* When the people were paid, I strictly inquired whether any of the Christians had taken from them a present. They all said, 'No, no! As we were regularly paid, we offered to your catechist a cloth of small value, but he absolutely refused it.'

"But Mr. M. Campbell says, that the Christians are profligate to a proverb. If he were near me, I would explain to him who are the profligate people who drain the country. When a dubash, in the space of ten or fifteen years, scrapes together two, three, or four lacks of pagodas, is not this extortion a high degree of profligacy? Nay, government was obliged to send an order, that three of those Gentoo dubashes should quit the Tanjore country. The enormous crimes committed by them, filled the country with complaints; but I have no mind to enumerate them.

"It is asserted, that the inhabitants of the country would suffer by missionaries. If they are sincere Christians, it is impossible that the inhabitants should suffer any damage by them; if they are not what they profess to be, they ought to be dismissed.

"When Sir Archibald Campbell was governor, and Mr. M. Campbell his private secretary, the inhabitants of Tanjore were so miserably oppressed by the manager and the Madras dubashes, that they quitted the country. Of course, all cultivation ceased. In the month of June it should commence; but nothing was done, even at the beginning of September. Every one dreaded the calamity of a famine. I entreated the rajah to remove that shameful oppression, and to recall the inhabitants. He sent them word that justice should be done to them; but they disbelieved his promises. He then desired *me* to write to them, and to assure them, that he, at my intercession,

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would show kindness to them. I did so. All immediately returned; and first of all, the kallar, (or, as they are commonly called, collaries,) believed my word; so that seven thousand men came back on one day. The other inhabitants followed their example. When I exhorted them to exert themselves to the utmost, because the time for cultivation was almost lost, they replied in the following manner:—'*As you have showed kindness to us, you shall not have reason to repent of it:* we intend to work night and day, to show our regard for you.' Sir Archibald Campbell was happy when he heard of it; and we had the satisfaction of having a better crop than the preceding year.

"As there was hardly any administration of justice, I begged and entreated the rajah to establish it in his country. 'Well,' said he, 'let me know wherein my people are oppressed.' I did so. He immediately consented to my proposal, and told his manager, that he should feel his indignation, if the oppression did not cease immediately. But as he soon died, he did not see the execution.

"When the present rajah began his reign, I put Sir Archibald Campbell in mind of that necessary point. He desired me to make a plan for a court of justice; which I did; but it was soon neglected by the servants of the rajah, who commonly sold justice to the best bidder.

"When the honorable Company took possession of the country, during the war, the plan for introducing justice was reassumed; by which many people were made happy. But when it was restored to the rajah, the former irregularities took place.

"During the assumption, government desired me to assist the gentlemen collectors. The district towards the west of Tanjore had been very much neglected, so that the water-courses had not been cleansed for the last fifteen years. I proposed that the collector should advance five hundred pagodas to cleanse them. He consented, if I would inspect the business. The work was begun and finished, being superintended by Christians. All that part of the country rejoiced in getting one hundred thousand kalams more than before. The inhabitants confessed that, instead of one kalam, they now reaped four.

"No native has suffered by Christians; none has complained of it. On the contrary, one of the richest in-

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habitants said to me, 'Sir, if you send a person to us, send us one who has learned all your ten commandments.' For he and many hundred natives had been present when I explained the Christian doctrine to heathen and Christians.

"The inhabitants dread the conduct of a Madras dubash. These people lend money to the rajah, at an exorbitant interest, and then are permitted to collect their money and interest in an appointed district.* It is needless to mention the consequences.

"When the collaries committed great outrages, in their plundering expeditions, sepoys were sent out to adjust matters; but it had no effect. Government desired *me* to inquire into that thievish business. I therefore sent letters to the head collaries. They appeared. We found out, in some degree, how much the Tanjore and Tondiman's and the nabob's collaries, had stolen; and we insisted upon restoration, which was done accordingly. At last, all gave it in writing, that they would steal no more. This promise they kept very well for eight months, and then they began their old work; however, not as before. Had that inspection over their conduct been continued, they might have been made useful people. I insisted upon their cultivating their fields, which they readily did. But if the demands become exorbitant, they have no resource, as they think, but of plundering.

"At length, some of the thievish collaries desired to be instructed. I said, 'I am obliged to instruct you; but I am afraid that you will prove very bad Christians.' Their promises were fair. I instructed them; and when they had a tolerable knowledge, I baptized them. I then exhorted them to steal no more, but to work industriously. After that, I visited them, and, having examined their knowledge, I desired to see their work. I observed with pleasure, that their fields were excellently cultivated. 'Now,' said I, 'one thing remains to be done. You must pay your tribute readily, and not wait till it is exacted by military force;' which, otherwise, is their custom. Soon after that, I found that they had paid off their tribute

* This flagrant abuse was a few years afterwards corrected, by the transfer of the collection of the revenue from the rajah to the East India Company.

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exactly. The only complaint against those Christian collaries was, that they refused to go upon plundering expeditions, as they had done before.

"Now, I am well aware that some will accuse me of having boasted. I confess the charge willingly, but lay all the blame upon those who have constrained me to commit that folly. I might have enlarged my account; but, fearing that some characters would have suffered by it, I stop here. One thing, however, I affirm, before God and man, THAT IF CHRISTIANITY, IN ITS PLAIN AND UNDISGUISED FORM, WERE PROPERLY PROMOTED, THE COUNTRY WOULD NOT SUFFER, BUT BE BENEFITED BY IT.

"If Christians were employed in some important offices, they should, if they misbehaved, be doubly punished; but to reject them entirely, is not right, and discourageth.

"The glorious God and our blessed Redeemer, commanded his apostles to preach the gospel to all nations. The knowledge of God, of his divine perfections, and of his mercy to mankind, may be abused; but there is no other method of reclaiming men, than by instructing them well. To hope that the heathens will lead a good life, without the knowledge of God, is a chimera.

"The praise bestowed on the heathens of this country by many of our historians, is refuted by a close (I might almost say, a superficial) inspection of their lives. Many historical works are more like a romance than history. Many gentlemen here are astonished how some historians have prostituted their talents by writing fables.

"I am now on the brink of eternity; but to this moment I declare that I do not repent of having spent forty-three years here in the service of my divine Master. Who knows but God may remove some of the great obstacles to the propagation of the gospel? Should a reformation take place amongst the Europeans, it would no doubt be the greatest blessing to the country.

"These observations I beg leave to lay before the honorable Society, with my humble thanks for all their benefits bestowed on this work, and sincere wishes that their pious and generous endeavors to disseminate the knowledge of God, and of Jesus Christ, may be beneficial to many thousands.

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"I am sincerely, Reverend and dear Sir, your affectionate brother and humble servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

Various reflections present themselves on the perusal of this admirable letter. The circumstance which occasioned it, and which proved to have been so entirely distorted and misrepresented by Mr. Montgomery Campbell, affords a striking example of the little dependence which can be placed on accounts of missionaries and their proceedings, which are not unfrequently given to the world by those who boast of their personal and local knowledge; but who are either unfriendly or indifferent to the propagation of Christianity in heathen countries. It is remarkable, also, that a few months only before Mr. Campbell brought forward his charges against the converts on the coast of Coromandel, the important reformation which Swartz details had been effected, by the blessing of God upon his labors, among the very class of people who had been so unjustly stigmatized as Christian thieves. The pagan collaries, in consequence, assembled, and threatened to extirpate Christianity out of their country; but were, at length, persuaded, by the exhortations of Swartz and his catechists, and the mild and patient conduct of their converted countrymen, to desist from their opposition, and returned to their habitations in peace.

Nothing can be more convincing and triumphant than the evidence thus adduced in favor of the beneficial influence of Christianity on the temporal interests of heathen nations; while the singular ability, the genuine modesty, and the elevated piety of the venerable missionary, throw additional light on the extraordinary excellence of his character, and the value of his Christian labors. It is but justice to Mr. Campbell to add, that on finding how completely Swartz had replied to his misrepresentations, he wrote and apologized to him; and excused himself by assuring him that his speech had been erroneously reported in the newspapers. It can scarcely be regretted that any statement, however inaccurate, should have been the occasion of calling forth so noble a defence of his mission, and so fine an illustration of his character, as the preceding letter affords.

The correspondence of Swartz, never very extensive

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or voluminous, was now becoming less frequent and communicative; and his letters, like the visits of those angelic spirits with whom he was ere long to be associated, were "few and far between." The following to Mr. and Mrs. Duffin was written in this year, and proves how vigorously he was still engaged in duty, how watchfully he was trimming his lamp, how sincerely he loved his friends, and how ardently he was aspiring to the happiness of eternity.

"My dear Friends,—Your kind letters of Dec. 30, 1792, and 10th of April, 1793, I have received, and rejoice that you are so happily situated in the company of Colonel and Mrs. Flint.

"I bless God that in my sixty-eighth year I can go through all my duties with tolerable ease. Some months ago I visited Cuddalore and Negapatam, when I commonly preached thrice every day, viz. in English, Portuguese, and Malabar. My dear friends here are likewise well. Mr. Kohlhoff thinks often of you and the kindness you showed him at Warriore. Your letters I communicated to Colonel and Mrs. Knox. Both are well, with their daughter. The place they do not like; almost two thirds of the people died by a dreadful famine which lasted three years.

"Whether I shall write again is uncertain. Our time, our life, is in the hands of God. One thing is certain, namely, *that we must die.* But if we die in the Lord, united to Jesus, interested in his atonement, and actuated, at least in some degree, by his Spirit, and having a well-grounded hope of everlasting life, all is well—Death has lost his sting, that is, his power to hurt us. O blessed eternity!

"You know, my dear friends, that I have loved you. I love you still. My love was not founded on a selfish interest. No, I wish to see you in a happy eternity. There we shall praise him who has redeemed us with his blood, and sanctified us with his Spirit.

"Wherever we are, we are tempted by the world—by the fine, polite world above all. 'Love not the world,' its proud, ambitious, covetous and sensual conduct. Love Him who laid down his life for us.

"Remember me to Colonel and Mrs. F. Tell them

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that I wish to be with them in the house of my heavenly Father. I am now on the brink of eternity. Oh! when shall I see God, and praise him for ever? When shall I be perfectly wise, holy, and happy—when shall I live for ever?

"To the love of God and Jesus Christ, I commend you both, and Colonel and Mrs. F., and am sincerely, to the last breath of my life, dear friends, your most obedient humble servant."

On the 10th of April 1795, he wrote as follows to the same friends.

"I praise God for his mercy which he has bestowed upon me. Though I am now in the sixty-ninth year of my age, I still am able to perform the ordinary functions of my office. Of sickness I know little or nothing. How long I am to say so, my Creator and Preserver knows. My only comfort is the redemption made by Jesus Christ. He is, and shall be, my wisdom. By him I have received the salutary knowledge which leads me to the favor of God. He is my righteousness. By his atonement I have pardon of my sins; being clothed in his righteousness, my sins will not appear in judgment against me—they are blotted out by the atoning blood of Jesus. He is likewise my sanctification. In his holy life I best learn the whole will of God, and by his Spirit I shall daily be encouraged and strengthened to hate every sin, and to walk in the way of the commandments of God. He is, and I hope he will be, my redemption. By him I shall be delivered from all evil, and made eternally happy.

"Let others glory in what they please: I will glory in Christ Jesus, the only and perfect author of all happiness. Should I presume to rely on my own virtue, I should despair. Though I heartily wish to obey God, and follow the example of my Saviour; though I will endeavor by the grace of God to subdue my inclination to sin—yet in all this there is, and ever must be, imperfection; so that I dare not stand upon so rotten a ground. But to win Christ, and to be found in him, in life and death, and even in the day of judgment, was St. Paul's wish; this has been the wish of all genuine Christians; this shall be mine as long as I breathe. This was not a peculiarity in St. Paul's character. No; he admonishes all to follow

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him in this point. This close adherence to Christ will not make us indolent in the pursuit of holiness. It will rather impel, strengthen, and cheer us in the work of true and Christian holiness. St. Paul wished to be made like unto the death of Jesus, which is the summit of true holiness.

"As this, perhaps, may be my last letter to you, I cannot but entreat you to follow St. Paul, that excellent pattern of true goodness. By doing so, you will easily withstand and overcome the temptations of a vain world; you will live and die in peace; and, at last, be received into glory.

"We have known one another a long time on earth. May we know one another in a blessed eternity, where sin and sorrow never shall disturb us! Watch and pray, that ye may be accounted worthy to stand before the Son of man, your redeemer."

With this truly apostolic letter, in which, after the example of St. Paul himself, he wrote "the same things," but which to him, as to every real Christian, were ever new, and ever supremely interesting and important, Swartz, as he had anticipated, closed his invaluable correspondence with these beloved friends; one of whom still survives, and retains, at a very advanced age, in all their freshness and fervor, the reverence and affection which the virtues of this extraordinary man had so justly inspired.

It will be remembered, that when the widows and the adopted son of the late rajah of Tanjore were, in the year 1793, at their earnest request, removed to Madras, it was stated that one of their chief objects was to bring before the notice of government the claims of Serfojee to the succession to the musnud, founded upon a variety of circumstances which had transpired since the decision of Sir Archibald Campbell in favor of Ameer Sing. Soon after their arrival, Mr. Swartz addressed a letter to the Marquess Cornwallis, to part of which reference has been already made, in which he gave a brief sketch of the history of Serfojee from the period of his adoption to that of his removal to Madras.

The question respecting the validity of Serfojee's adoption having been thus formally revived, doubtless, occu-

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pied the immediate attention of government; but the time necessarily required for the transmission and examination of the various documents upon which the determination of it depended, not only to Bengal, but also to the Court of Directors, occasioned considerable delay.

During this interval, the mal-administration of affairs in Tanjore continued, and even increased. Conflicting representations were made by the rajah and the resident to the Madras government, the former complaining particularly of the endeavors which were making to invalidate his title to the throne, and urging in the strongest manner the objections which had originally prevailed to set aside the claims of Serfojee. These appear to have been forwarded to Calcutta, where Sir John Shore, now Lord Teignmouth, had succeeded the Marquess Cornwallis as governor-general of India, and to have been taken into the deliberate consideration of the president in council. In a minute, transmitted by that excellent and distinguished person, to the Court of Directors, the following passage occurs; which is so honorable at once to the discriminating judgment of the governor-general, and to the character of Mr. Swartz, that it is gratifying to have the opportunity of inserting it in these Memoirs.

"Admitting that the authors of the rajah of Tanjore's correspondence are interested on the one side, and the resident and Mr. Swartz are committed on the other, it may be a matter for consideration to which of the parties credit ought to be given. The president has no hesitation in declaring, that upon every material point he totally disbelieves every circumstance that has been urged in the rajah's letters, which goes to a contradiction of the representations of the resident.

"With regard to Mr. Swartz, whose name the president has never heard mentioned without respect, and who is as distinguished for the sanctity of his manners, as for his ardent zeal in the promulgation of his religion; whose years, without impairing his understanding, have added weight to his character; and whose situation has enabled him to be the protector of the oppressed, and the comforter of the afflicted; who, a preacher of the Christian faith, and a man without influence, except from character, was held in such estimation by the late rajah, a Hindoo prince, approaching to his dissolution, that he thought him

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the fittest person he could consult concerning the management of his country, during the minority of his adopted son Serfojee; and who, displaying more integrity than foresight, in the advice he gave, did certainly not prove himself the enemy of Ameer Sing, since, at his suggestion, he was named Regent—to the solemn assurance of such a man, the president is compelled to declare his unqualified assent; and, upon his information, he can easily reconcile the difference between the personal declarations and the letters of the rajah."

Though it is by no means intended to enter minutely into the political affairs of Tanjore at this period, and the venerable subject of these memoirs ever anxiously avoided, as far as his sense of duty would permit, any interference of this nature, it is absolutely necessary to the elucidation of his conduct upon the present occasion, to refer to various circumstances respecting which he was required to give his deliberate opinion and advice. Living as he had done, during so many years, in habits of friendly and confidential intercourse with the principal persons at the court of Tanjore, as well as with others of all ranks, he necessarily acquired a clearer insight into the secret springs and motives of action of those around him, than could be obtained by any other individual. The consequence of this extensive information, combined with his perfect integrity and independence, was, that, by degrees, he was compelled to take a part, directly or indirectly, in almost every public transaction connected with Tanjore. "The good," as it has been happily expressed by a subsequent distinguished resident at that court,* "naturally desired his advice and assistance, the bad were anxious to obtain the sanction of his respectable name."

The supreme government having, upon just and elevated principles, resolved on fully investigating the subject of the succession to Tanjore, in addition to the representations and documents, which had been already laid before them by Mr. Swartz and the widows, called upon Mr. Macleod, the late resident, to state all that he knew or believed relative to the right of Ameer Sing to the musnud. In reply to this requisition, he transmitted a clear and

* Colonel Blackburne.

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minute detail of all the circumstances connected with it. From this important document,* it appears that soon after the decision in favor of Ameer Sing, opinions and surmises beginning to be very prevalent at Tanjore, as to the legality of his title, the resident was induced to make various inquiries upon the subject. He found, from answers to questions sent privately to natives well versed in the Hindoo laws, that the supposed defects in the adoption of Serfojee, were of no validity, and incapable of being substantiated by authorities from the shasters; while, on the other hand, many quotations, purporting to be from those sacred books, were produced, which clearly evinced the legality of all the forms of the adoption.

These passages were furnished by some of the pundits consulted by the late rajah respecting that ceremony, as well as by other learned men; and though the resident could not himself verify their genuineness, the presumption was strongly in their favor, from the danger of detection, should he at any time bring them publicly forward. Upon these grounds, he felt convinced in his own mind of the validity of the adoption; and this conviction was strengthened by the circumstance, already noticed, of the various rewards bestowed by Ameer Sing upon the pundits, who had given their opinions in support of his title. He further remarked, that these opinions were unaccompanied by any authorities from the shasters; that some of those pundits were incompetent to assert any thing of their own knowledge upon the subject; and that one of them had actually confessed, and persisted to the hour of his death in acknowledging, that his answers had been given under undue influence.

All this was corroborated by the treatment of Serfojee, while confined in the palace, which has been before detailed, and which the resident had felt himself bound to represent to government, in order, as he emphatically expressed it, "to save the boy." Of the severity of this treatment, he mentioned one remarkable proof, in addition to what has been previously stated. About three months after the death of Tuljajee, he and Mr. Swartz were sitting with the rajah, waiting for Serfojee, who had been desired to attend them. When he made his appearance,

* Madras Inclosures, vol. xxii. p. 715.

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"the child," says Mr. Macleod, "was so dreadfully altered, that though we saw him in his approach down the length of an open colonnade, we did not know him, till he came within three or four yards of us: he had become emaciated and dejected to the greatest degree. He was reduced to this deplorable state, by a series of acts which sufficiently evinced that the intention of those who directed them was to remove the boy, whose right they considered the only obstacle to the rajah's quiet possession of the throne. It was at this crisis," he adds, "that government interposed."

Such is the outline of the case respecting the conflicting claims of Serfojee and Ameer Sing to the musnud of Tanjore. To the English government the decision of this question was a matter of comparative indifference, inasmuch as the determination of it in favor of either party, could not materially affect its interests and influence in the country. It was, therefore, with perfect integrity and impartiality that this important investigation was undertaken; and the result of it was regulated by the clearest and most convincing evidence.

To Swartz himself it must have been a source of heartfelt satisfaction, that he had lived to conduct the cause of Serfojee so nearly to its successful issue. It awaited only the final decision of the Court of Directors, which was confidently anticipated, but which did not arrive till the venerable friend of the young prince had ceased to take any interest in the affairs, however important, of this earthly scene.

In returning to the general narrative of the year 1796, it may be observed, that about this period Mr. Swartz was requested to give some instruction in the principles of the Christian religion to the son of a gentleman then resident in the neighborhood of Tanjore, who afterwards filled a distinguished station in the public service of India,* and who still evinces a lively interest in all that relates to the welfare of our Oriental empire. "I well remember," says that learned and eminent person, "his peculiarly venerable and impressive appearance, the tall and erect figure, the head white with years, the features on which I loved

* The Right Honorable Sir Alexander Johnstone, late Chief Justice of Ceylon.

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to look, the mingled dignity and amenity of his demeanor. To his pupils, he was more like a parent than a preceptor."* The testimony to the revered missionary is, we perceive, the same from every quarter, and the impression of his mild and attractive virtues, even on the youngest mind, deep and indelible.

In a letter to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, dated Tanjore, June 28, 1796, Mr. Swartz gratefully mentions "God's preservation of his life and health to the extent of nearly seventy years, and his ability still to go through his work in church and school, even without being much fatigued."

Towards the close of this year, the Society succeeded in obtaining, through Professor Schultz, of Halle, two candidates for the mission in India, one of whom was destined to the Calcutta station, and the other to the coast of Coromandel. The earnest wishes so repeatedly expressed by Swartz for fresh laborers, were thus, it was hoped, likely to be realized; and in the spring of the following year, after a very able and eloquent charge by the late Archdeacon Owen, who had himself served with distinction as one of the chaplains to the presidency of Calcutta, in which, in common with his predecessors in this solemn duty, he spoke of Swartz, as of one "whose praise in the gospel is indeed great," Messrs. Ringeltaube and Holtzberg embarked for India. Of these missionaries, however, one soon quitted the service of the Society, and the other, whose arrival cheered for a time the declining days of his venerable superior, had unhappily imbibed the Neologian views, which already pervaded the German Universities, and, though spared for several years, diminished instead of augmenting the strength and efficiency of the mission.

The affection of Swartz for his admirable friend and fellow-laborer, Gericke, has already appeared. In his journal for this year, he thus touchingly refers to a domestic affliction of this excellent man, and repeats the testimony which he had previously borne to his character.

"The Lord preserve our dear brother Gericke! His daughter's early death affected him deeply. His humility, contentment, and disinterested conduct, are observed and

* Lives of Eminent Missionaries, p. 169.

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appreciated, both by heathens and Christians. I cannot sufficiently praise God for granting me such a humble, unwearied, and attentive fellow-laborer. He works from morning to night, and is always content."

On his seventieth birth-day, Swartz addressed to his friend, Professor Schultz, the following devout and interesting effusion.

"Tanjore, Oct. 8, 1796.

"Ebenezer! hitherto the Lord has helped me. To-day I entered upon my seventy-first year. O the riches of his grace, compassion, and forbearance, which I have experienced during seventy years! Praise, honor, and adoration, are due to a gracious God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for the numerous proofs of his abounding grace. Who am I, poor wretched sinner, that thou hast led me till now? O my God, forsake me not in my old age, but let me record, for the encouragement of others, the mercy which has spared, pardoned, and comforted me; and may they be induced to put their trust in thee!

"I am still able to go through the labor of instructing both young and old, without being over fatigued. This duty is so great a refreshment to me, that I heartily praise God for continued health and strength to declare to heathens and Christians his name, who has sent Christ as a Saviour, and made him 'our wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption.' Let worldlings boast as much as they please; my boast is in the Lord, from whom alone cometh my salvation."

The following extract from another letter intimates his knowledge of the painful departure of some of the German churches from the fundamental doctrines of the gospel; and while adverting to his continued, but necessarily decreasing labors, announces his watchful preparation for a higher world.

"Our circumstances are rather depressing, but the Lord is never at a loss for means. He can send forth laborers into his vineyard. Alas! the faithful laborers are few.

"The present condition of the churches in Germany is truly deplorable. They have invented a gospel to which

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St. Paul and the other apostles were entire strangers. Many reject the doctrine of the atonement, and of the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit.

"I have now attained my seventieth year. Hitherto the Lord has preserved and protected me. I cannot any longer undertake distant excursions to the heathen; but am still able to perform my ordinary functions, both in church and school. I also pay occasional visits to such Christians as are dispersed in the vicinity, for which I humbly praise God. I have till now personally instructed all those who wished to be baptized, or to receive the holy supper.

"How much longer God may permit me to occupy my station, is known to him alone. 'My times are in his hands.' He has heard my unworthy prayer, that I might not become quite useless in old age. I consider it one of my highest privileges that I can still daily proclaim his name, both among Christians and heathens. A few months ago, I seemed standing on the borders of eternity, being suddenly seized with a painful oppression on my chest. I consider it as a summons from my Lord, to hold myself in readiness, at whatsoever hour he may come."

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CHAPTER XX.

Closing period of Mr. Swartz's life—Letters to Mrs. Chambers, and to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—His preference of Celibacy for a Missionary—Reflections on his opinion—His last report to the Society—Mr. Gericke communicates the intelligence of his dangerous Illness, and announces his Death—Details of those events by Mr. Gericke, and Mr. Kohlhoff.

In entering upon the closing period of Mr. Swartz's life, the following letter to Mrs. Chambers, written at the commencement of the year 1797, will show his true Christian affection for the widow and children of his beloved friend, and the strength and elevation of his piety.

"Tanjore, Jan. 20, 1797.

"Dear madam,—I have received your kind letter along with the little books for the benefit of the children.* They have been highly pleased with them, and have frequently perused them.

"The account you have been pleased to give me of your and my deceased friend's children is, as you may readily conceive, rejoicing my heart. Your children are your treasure, which, if they are well educated, you will find in heaven; whereas all other things will leave you. The modern way of educating children is far from being hopeful. To make them useful members of society is good; but to make them genuine disciples of Jesus is infinitely better.

"You mention the present corruption of the clergy. At the same time you pleasingly add, that in the midst of

* Doubtless those of his schools.

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hirelings, God has several true servants. This I believe with all my heart; and in spite of ridicule, they are the pillars which support the state more than all political machines.

"I rejoice particularly at your delight in abstaining from the fashionable ways of the world. How is it possible to preserve faith, love, and hope, in the dissipations which are in vogue? Our days are soon gone. Eternity is at hand. What will a poor worldling at last feel when, leaving the world, he finds himself destitute of a lively hope of a blessed eternity?

"But how comfortable is the end of a genuine disciple of Jesus! Adorned with his righteousness, justified and absolved from sin, having the joyful testimony of the Spirit of God, he quits the world with divine comfort.

"How animating the words of our blessed Saviour, 'Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest!' None but the Redeemer is able to give us that desirable blessing. Having obtained mercy, pardon, and peace with God, well may we take his yoke upon us. His commandments are then not grievous; his discipline, and even sufferings, are salutary, promoting our internal peace of mind.

"May you, dear madam, and your dear children walk in the light of his countenance! May God always grant you righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost!

"Remember me to Mr. Grant, and assure him that I frequently remember him. In his present situation he may do much good, but will likewise meet with many temptations. May he be strong in the Lord!

"I remain sincerely, dear madam, your affectionate friend, C. F. SWARTZ.

"The kind present which you left for me in the hands of my dear brother, Mr. Gericke, I have received, and thank you heartily for it."

The day following, Swartz informed the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, that through the divine mercy Mr. Kohlhoff and himself had been preserved in the enjoyment of health and strength, for which he humbly praised God. He particularly mentioned Mr. Jœnicke as indefatigable in his missionary labors. He reported that

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in the Tamul school, in which fifty boys and ten girls were educated, two of the senior boys were instructed, not only in the doctrine, but also in the evidences of Christianity, in order to their being hereafter employed as schoolmasters and catechists. The provincial schools at Tanjore and Cumbagonam were continued as before. As a proof of their caution in the admission of the native Christians to divine ordinances, "When the holy sacrament," he observes, "is administered, we admit no more than thirty or forty at one time, that we may be able to ascertain the knowledge of the communicants; but that all may have an opportunity to receive, it is administered four or five Sundays successively."

In conclusion, he assures the Society, that their work of love in that country was not altogether fruitless; and that many would bless God through all eternity, for the kindness which they had bestowed upon them.

In another letter to the Society, dated Feb. 22, he expressed his most humble thanks, not only for their usual stores and presents, but for their additional allowance of 50*l*. He also mentioned the excellent Sattianaden as diligent in the discharge of his duties at Palamcotta, and as worthy of the gratuity intended for him by the Society.

It can scarcely be necessary to state that Swartz never married. His solemn and entire dedication of himself to the work of a missionary had probably induced him at a very early period to resolve on a life of celibacy, upon the elevated principle suggested by the great apostle to the Gentiles,* that he might be unincumbered by domestic cares, and free to devote his undivided thoughts and energies to the service of Christ. It is not surprising, therefore, that the choice which he had thus made for himself, he should deliberately approve for others engaged in similar undertakings. In point of fact, he was decidedly unfriendly to the marriage of missionaries, at least during the first years of their ministry. Adverting, in the preceding letter, to the information which he had received of the arrival of new missionaries in India, and of the probability that one of them would be accompanied by his wife, he thus briefly but pointedly expressed his sentiments upon this difficult subject.

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*1 Cor. vii. 32, 33.

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"I confess, dear sir, I was grieved at it. I assure you that I honor the state of matrimony as a divinely-instituted state; but if a new missionary comes out, he ought to be unembarrassed. His first work, besides his attention to his personal religion, is the learning of some languages, which requires great attention, and unwearied application. I will not say that a married man is unable to learn languages; but this I know from experience in others, that the work goes on slowly. Besides, a new missionary who comes out in the married state, wants many things to maintain his family decently, which may distract him. If one should enter into that state after he had become qualified for his office, the difficulty would be less; but even then, he ought to be well assured of the real piety of his wife; otherwise, she will be a sore impediment to him in the discharge of his duty."

The opinion thus expressed by the venerable missionary is certainly at variance with that of many others on this important point; and some may, perhaps, be disposed to think that his view of it was unduly influenced by his own feelings and example. No man was, however, more perfectly free from prejudice or mere personal considerations in forming his judgment upon any subject than Swartz; and it deserves to be remembered, that from his peculiarly social and affectionate disposition, few men were better qualified to impart and to enjoy the happiness of a married life. This only proves the sincerity and strength of that conviction of duty which could reconcile him to privations of which he could not but be deeply susceptible; and the remunerating goodness of God, who, by the cheering light of his countenance, the visits of his grace, and the hopes and visions of his glory, could, even in solitude, give to his devoted servant "the desires of his heart," and provide for him a satisfying portion of personal happiness.

The sentiments of such a man, therefore, more particularly when viewed in connection with those of the apostle, already referred to, well deserve the serious consideration of all candidates for the office of a missionary. The difficulties and dangers to which those are exposed who follow the example of Swartz in a life of celibacy are, doubtless, great and obvious; nor should they ever be encountered without the deliberate and well founded assurance, which

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he possessed, of a faith which endures in the hour of trial, which effectually purifies the thoughts and imaginations of the heart, and which, overcoming all the allurements of the world, has "respect unto the recompense of the reward." Examples may, indeed, be adduced of married missionaries, eminently devoted and successful, who have owed much of their comfort and even of their usefulness, to the partners of their labors and their cares. Such was the pious and admirable Ziegenbalg, yet not before he had solidly laid the foundation, and had advanced considerably in the promotion of his great work at Tranquebar;* such was Eliot, the apostle of the North American Indians; such was Gericke, nearest, perhaps, to Swartz himself, in zeal, in disinterestedness, in success; and such, to mention no others, have been, in general, the Moravian brethren, pre-eminent, it may almost be said, in the highest qualities and achievements of missionary character and labor.

Failures, both in the one class and in the other, might, unhappily, be enumerated. The truth seems to be, that as in many other points of Christian practice, no certain and invariable rule can be laid down, which shall in all cases determine the choice of the missionary concerning a married or a single life. Much must depend upon circumstances, of which a truly upright, devout, and devoted mind can alone rightly judge. Two things may, however, be safely affirmed upon this subject: the one, that, in strict analogy with the apostle's argument before alluded to, the preponderance both of reason and experience is, in general, in favor of the unmarried missionary; the other, that this preponderance would be greatly lessened, if, after the primitive example of the United Brethren, Protestant missionaries in the present day would determinately consider themselves as ministers of a distinct and peculiar order, "separated unto the gospel of God;" and, if when conscientiously uniting themselves in marriage, they would never forget the apostolic admonition, "that they that have wives be as though they had none,"—as entirely devoted to God, and as simply dependent on his providential care, as if, like Swartz, they were alone in the world, and had, like him, or rather, like the blessed

* See Preliminary Sketch, p. 22.

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apostle, whose example he so closely followed, but "one thing" to do—to fulfil the ministry which they have received, "to testify the gospel of the grace of God;" to live, not unto themselves, but unto Him who died for them and rose again.

The last communication from their venerable missionary, which the Society received, was dated from Tanjore, on the 4th of September, 1797, in which he acknowledged the receipt of the secretary's letter of that year, together with the usual stores, and presents, salaries and gratuities, for all of which he assured the Society of his brethren's sincere thankfulness. "God," he continued, "had graciously preserved their lives and health, so that he was still able to go through his accustomed work, though with less vigor than heretofore. He added, that, should his life be prolonged, he intended to give a full account of the mission, at the end of the year; and concluded with a prayer, that God would prosper the work of their revered superiors."

The labors, however, of this apostolic man were now drawing to a close. Within little more than a month after the date of the preceding letter, his last illness commenced; and on the second of Feb., 1798, Mr. Gericke, in a letter to the Society, communicated the painful and afflicting intelligence, that Mr. Swartz had been, for three months past, dangerously ill, and was not expected to preach again, his illness having affected not only his bodily strength, but also his memory.

A second letter from Mr. Gericke, dated at Tanjore, on the 13th of the same month, and written, as he observed, in great haste, informed the Society that it had pleased God to take from them their dear father and friend, between four and five o'clock that evening.

When Mr. Gericke arrived at Tanjore with Mr. Holtzberg on the 2d, his aged friend was tolerably alert, though he had been ill several months; but from that day he grew gradually weaker, which occasioned Mr. Gericke's continuance there. He promised to write more fully shortly; and in the meantime commended himself to the Society's prayers, together with his brethren, who could not but be deeply afflicted at so melancholy, though not unexpected, an event.

In his next letter, Mr. Gericke communicated the fol-

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lowing interesting particulars of the last sufferings, and of the patience, resignation, and hope, of the revered and venerable missionary.

"That great and good man," he writes, "had often spoken to me of his death. When he mentioned any providential circumstances that had attended him in life, he had been accustomed to add, 'And so God will show me mercy at the end;' and we have great reason to praise him for the mercies our father and brother experienced during the last days of his abode upon earth. When I arrived at Tanjore, he was in perfect health of body, though his recollection failed him. During the few days in which I went to see our brother Pohlé, at Trichinopoly, he had been afflicted with a mortification in his left foot, which for years past had occasionally been painful. On my return, I was fearful that this would prove fatal. We were thankful, however, to observe, that the power of recollection had almost fully returned. The mortification also was checked, and shortly after removed; and the last days of his life became some of his best. He frequently conversed with Christians and heathens, who visited him, in the same easy and agreeable manner he had been accustomed to when in health. He affectionately exhorted every European that visited him, to the earnest care of his soul. He prayed, and he praised God. He desired us to pray with him; and though he must have felt much pain, (which was evident from his groans, when left alone, in the hope of getting rest,) yet when we heard him speak with others, or pray, it was with as much ease as if he had no pain.

"Respecting the mission, he made the following emphatic observation. 'I hope the work will continue; but you will suffer much in carrying it on: he who will suffer nothing, is not fit for it.' Of his own congregation, by which he chiefly intended those who lived on either side of his garden, and attended his hours of daily devotion, he said, what it would be well if those who expect too much, or, at least, too hastily, from heathen converts, would bear in mind,—'There is a good beginning in all. If others say, there is nothing perfect; I say, look into your own hearts.'"

Every circumstance relating to the last days of this

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eminent Christian is so interesting and instructive, that the following more expanded narrative of this melancholy, yet consoling and animating scene, by Mr. Gericke, though occasionally repeating the preceding brief account, cannot but be acceptable.

"I returned to Tanjore," he writes to his friend in Germany, "from a short journey I had made to Trichinopoly, on the 7th of February, and found that Mr. Swartz's foot had become very bad, and full of black spots, which continued to increase. The physician had begun to employ the bark as a poultice. As we expected the end of our beloved brother every hour, the other brethren besought me to remain with them, and assist them to bear the burden. To me it was a great blessing, to witness in our dying friend an animating example of faith, of patience, and of hope. When spiritual and heavenly things were spoken of, when he prayed, exhorted, comforted, or spoke of the repose and peace of mind which he enjoyed by the mercy of God through Christ, no failure in his powers of recollection could be perceived. He often introduced a text of holy scripture, or a verse of a hymn, which were very appropriate; and was continually engaged in conversation with those around him. Until the Friday evening previous, he often said, that he did not consider his end so near; and that it would not take place until after much suffering. But after that, he sometimes said, 'I shall now soon depart to my heavenly Father.' Being asked, whether he had the hope that, after his death, the kingdom of God would break forth in this country, he replied, 'Yes; but it will be through affliction and trouble.' At another time, when he was asked if he had any thing to say concerning his congregation, he answered, 'Assist them to come to heaven.' When one remarked with joy, his patience and contentment, he replied, 'Human affliction is common, and I really suffer very little;' often repeating, in German, 'The faithful God helps us out of trouble, and chastens us in measure. How would it be with us, if he should deal with us according to our sins? But there will be no affliction in heaven; and for that we have to thank the Lord Jesus.'

"To his native assistants, who faithfully attended him, he was very grateful, and often said, 'For these poor

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people's sake, who certainly do all they can, we ought not to sorrow much, that the services they render may not be made painful.'

"On the morning of the 10th, his tongue was quite dry, rough, and black, attended with strong spasms of the stomach, and an impeded respiration. At his desire we offered up a prayer, and deemed that it would be the last. Towards evening, however, there was a favorable change, and the fever was much abated. Early on the following day, Samuel, the physician, (probably a native practitioner,) came; who, however, did not attend the patient in a medical capacity, but only assisted in raising him, and applying the poultices, and who had, the day before, announced to me his approaching death. He said, 'The Lord has wrought wonderfully; the symptoms which yesterday indicated his approaching dissolution, are now vanished.' The English physician, also, when he examined the foot, said, he was astonished at the unexpected improvement, and added, that he now no longer feared that his patient would die of the mortification, though his recovery was not to be expected.

"On the 12th, in the afternoon, I wished to set out; the patient also gave me leave, and said, 'You will then depart! Greet all the brethren, and tell them always to look at *the main object*. I shall now soon depart to the Lord Jesus. That he has received me, forgiven my sins, and has not entered into judgment with me, but has dealt with me according to his tender mercy, is well for me, and I praise him. He might reject us for our very works' sake, because sin cleaves to them all.' He praised God for permitting him to depart out of the world in the society of faithful brethren, and that he had so ordered it, that I had been brought to visit him in his great weakness, and commend him to Jesus, as the only Saviour, as the resurrection, and the life. 'Now,' he added, 'pray yet once again.' I kneeled down, in company with Mr. Kohlhoff, who had entered in the meanwhile, and accommodated my prayer to the subject of the hymn.

"After applying fresh poultices to the diseased foot, he was removed into another room. It was then that we first perceived how great his debility was; and it appeared that he was much nearer death than he had been on the preceding Sunday. Again, therefore, I was detained.

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"In the afternoon, he conversed much with Mr. Jœnicke. In the evening, I came to him, with the physician, whom he distinctly recognized, and said to him, 'Let us see to it that none be wanting!' He expressed his thankfulness for the care of the physician, and for the presence of his brethren, and the native assistants. These last did all they could with the greatest readiness; love to their teacher and father, made all easy to them; and every instructive word that he addressed to them, they received with the greatest eagerness, and voluntarily remained with him. The physician was much affected, and said to me when going away, that he hoped I would not leave the patient and depart, now that he was so weak.

"This evening he suffered more than before; for the raising him up and moving him, and even the sitting and lying in bed, were extremely painful to him. But his patience and contentment did not abate; not a complaint was heard; sighs only testified what he endured. I said, among other things, 'God grant that we may, in our last conflict, be able to await our end in such peace and in such confidence as, to our consolation and joy, are imparted to you!' He added, 'May it abundantly be so!' Our hearts were moved by the affection and emphasis with which he pronounced this wish.

"In the night of the 12th, he had, during the intervals of pain, a little sleep; and in the forenoon of the following day, he became as if seized with lethargy, and his pulse was very feeble. When he awoke, he spoke, indeed, but only a few words could be understood, though he appeared to comprehend all that was said to him. We expected that thus he would slumber away; but at noon, on the 13th, he was again lively. We sung the hymn, 'Christ is my life,' when he began to sing with us, spoke very humbly of himself, and extolled his Redeemer, and wished to be dissolved and to be with Christ. 'Had it pleased him,' he said, 'to spare me longer, I should have been glad: I should then have been able to speak yet a word to the sick and poor; but his will be done! May He but in mercy receive me! Into thy hands I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth!' After this, the native assistants sung the last verse of the hymn, 'O head so full of bruises,'—he joining with them.

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He then rested a little; after which, he desired to be raised up, and unexpectedly he opened his lips, from which had issued so much instruction and consolation, and thus expired in the arms of the faithful and truly grateful native fellow-laborer of this place, at four o'clock.

"Very moving were the weeping and the sobs of the people, in both the Christian villages on each side of the garden, which were heard during the whole night. The distress, that now their instructor, their comforter, their guardian, their benefactor, their counsellor, their intercessor, was no more, was general. Not only we, the congregations, the schools, and the missions, but the whole land, has lost a parent. Every one who knew him, bewails him.

"On the day following, between four and five in the afternoon, we committed his body to the grave we had made for him in the garden. Serfojee, the Tanjore prince, whose guardian he had been, came to see him before the coffin was closed, bedewed him with his tears, and accompanied him to the grave. The native assistants asked permission to bear the corpse; but as Europeans had been appointed the day before, it was declined. We purposed singing on the way; but the wailing of the people did not allow it. There was singing in the church before and after the interment; and when the Europeans were departed, the natives of themselves began a hymn, and awaited an address from me; but I could hardly utter even a few words, and was obliged to make a vigorous effort to read the service. The servant of the departed stood near me, and said, almost as if fainting, 'Now is our desire gone!' The exclamation went to my heart: but this is not the language of one, but of many, old and young, great and small, near and afar, Christians and heathen.

"When I had disrobed, I repaired to the prince, who remained still in the neighborhood, and sought to comfort him. The chief servant of the widow of the former king also besought me to visit and comfort her; but she resided too far off. On the following morning, we all waited on the physician, and thanked him for the love which he had evinced to the deceased, in his last hours. I also looked at the papers he had left behind, that I might take possession of the will, and found that the mission at Tan-

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jore, and all the poor, and the institutions attached to it, are his heirs. In the afternoon, I conversed for an hour with the assistants, and prayed with them. In the evening, the Tamul congregation assembled in the church, and wished to hear a sermon. I chose the words of the dying Jacob,—'Behold, I die; but God will be with you.' I introduced many things which the deceased had said concerning the church, and his expectation that the kingdom of Christ would advance in this country. I endeavored to awaken them to the attainment of such a spirit as the departed had possessed, whose grave was then visible before them. On the following day I again prayed with the brethren, and departed."

Such is the simple, but deeply interesting narrative given by the pious and excellent Gericke, of the last illness and death of his departed friend: it is strikingly characteristic of the venerable missionary, and beautifully descriptive of the piety and peace, the faith and patience, the fervent devotion, the holy love, and heavenly hope of the dying Christian. It would be difficult to add to the interest of this mournful yet animating and consoling scene. Yet, as the brethren and friends of the departing missionary visited him at intervals, while the general and more important features of it were witnessed by them all, each individual observed and heard something new and particular. His faithful colleague, and almost adopted son, Mr. Kohlhoff, who was near him during the whole of his illness, would more especially be anxious to treasure in his memory all the circumstances which attended the dying bed of his revered and beloved friend and father. Mr. Kohlhoff's narrative comprises a period of three months previously to the arrival of Mr. Gericke, and many very instructive and important particulars will be observed which do not occur in his shorter memorial. The interview of the dying missionary with the Hindoo prince, of whom he had been the faithful guardian and friend, will be read with peculiar interest.

"From the beginning of January," says Mr. Kohlhoff, "to the middle of October, 1797, he pursued his labors in his ministerial office, and in his studies, with great fervor, under all the disadvantages of his advanced age. He preached every Sunday in the English and Tamulian

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languages by turns, and on Wednesdays he preached a lecture in the Portuguese language, for the space of several weeks, and afterwards in German to the privates, who had been made prisoners in the island of Ceylon, and, having entered our service, were incorporated in his majesty's 51st regiment, stationed at this place.

"He made likewise a journey to Trichinopoly, and several times visited Vellum, (a town six miles from Tanjore,) in order to preach the word of God to some companies of the 51st regiment, stationed at that place, and to invite the heathens to accept the blessings of the gospel.

"During the course of the week he explained the New Testament in his usual order at morning and evening prayers, which were begun and concluded by singing some verses of a hymn; and he dedicated an hour every day for instructing the Malabar school children in the doctrines of Christianity. He was very solicitous for their improvement in knowledge and piety, and particularly for those whom he had chosen and was training up for the service of the church; for whose benefit he wrote, during the latter part of his life, an explanation of the principal doctrines of Christianity, an abridgment of Bishop Newton's Exposition of the Revelation, and some other books.

"Though his strength and vigor were greatly impaired, yet his love to his flock constrained him to deny himself a great deal of that ease and repose which his great age required, and to exert all his remaining strength for their improvement in true religion. He took a particular delight in visiting the members of his congregation, with whom he conversed freely upon the subjects relating to their eternal interest. He told them plainly whatever was blameable in their conduct, and animated them, by every powerful argument, to walk worthy of their Christian profession. It was a most pleasing sight to see the little children flock to him with such joy as children feel on meeting their beloved parent after some absence, and to observe his engaging and delightful method in leading them to the knowledge of God, and of their duty.

"He heard almost every day the accounts delivered by the catechists of their conversations with Christians, papists, and heathen, and the effects produced by them, and embraced every opportunity of giving them directions for a wise and faithful discharge of their office.

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"His strength was visibly on the decline during the last year of his life, and he frequently spoke of his departure, to which he looked forward with joy and delight. The commencement of his illness, which happened on the 17th of October, 1797, consisted only of a cold and hoarseness. Dr. Kennedy, who was his particular friend, prescribed for him, but without effect, and he suffered severely from sickness till the 27th of November following.

"It was very afflicting to witness the state of our venerable father, and every remedy rendered fruitless which was tried by that humane and excellent man, the late Dr. Stuart, who acted for Dr. Kennedy during his absence. My distress would have proved insupportable, if a merciful God had not strengthened and comforted me through the unexpected arrival of the Rev. Mr. Jœnicke on the 4th of November.

"Under all his severe sufferings, he never uttered a single expression of impatience—his mind was always calm and serene. Once, when he was in great pain, he said, 'If it be the will of the Lord to take me to heaven, his will be done—may his name be praised!'

"Although his strength was quite exhausted, and his body extremely emaciated, yet, under all this calamity, he desired that the school children, and others who usually attended the evening prayers, should assemble in his parlor, where, after singing, he expounded a portion of the Holy Scriptures in a very affecting manner, and concluded it with his fervent and importunate prayers. It was always his custom to hear the English school children read to him a few chapters out of the Bible after evening prayer, and to hear them sing some of Dr. Watts's hymns. During his illness, he seemed particularly pleased with that excellent hymn, which begins with the following words:—

'Far from my thoughts, vain world, be gone,
Let my religious hours alone;
Fain would mine eyes my Saviour see,
I wait a visit, Lord, from thee!'

He called it his beloved song, and desired the children to sing it frequently to him.

"He earnestly exhorted and entreated the heathen, who visited him in his illness, to forsake their idolatry,

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and to consider betimes the things which belonged to their peace. When one of them began relating that wonderful things occurred in the town, our venerable father answered, 'The most wonderful thing is, that after hearing so often the doctrines of Christianity, and being convinced of the truth of it, you are, notwithstanding, backward to embrace and obey it.' In conversing with another heathen of consequence, he expressed his great regret at leaving him in his idolatry, when he was entering into eternity; and added the following words. 'I have often exhorted and warned you, but you have hitherto disregarded it. You esteem and honor the creature more than the Creator.'

"On the 23d of November, he was visited by Serfojee, the present rajah, then presumptive heir of the kingdom of Tanjore, and to whom Mr. Swartz was appointed guardian by the late Tulja Maha Rajah. On being informed that Serfojee rajah wished to see him, he let him know that he should come immediately, as he doubted whether he should survive till the next day. On his arrival, he received him very affectionately, and then delivered to him his dying charge, by which, though pronounced in broken language, the rajah seemed to be deeply affected. The tenor of his speech was as follows:—

"'After God has called me hence, I request you will be careful not to indulge a fondness for pomp and grandeur. You are convinced that my endeavors to serve you have been disinterested; what I now request of you is, that you would be kind to the Christians. If they behave ill, let them be punished; but if they do well, show yourself to them as their father and protector.

"'As the administration of justice is indispensably necessary to the prosperity and happiness of every state, I request you will establish regular courts, and be careful that impartial justice be administered. I heartily wish you would renounce your idolatry, and serve and honor the only true God. May He be merciful, and enable you to do it!'

"Our venerable father then inquired whether he sometimes perused the Bible; and concluded with very affecting exhortations to be mindful of the concerns of his immortal soul.

"The resident, Mr. Macleod, who had been on a visit

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to Trichinopoly for some weeks, hearing on his arrival the ill state of Mr. Swartz's health, had the kindness to send for Dr. Stuart from Trichinopoly. The doctor arrived here on the first of December, and after consulting with his other medical attendant, he recommended the tincture of steel to be taken with an infusion of bark, which, by the blessing of God, put a stop to the sickness, with which he had been afflicted since the 17th of October.

"On the 3d of December, the first Sunday in Advent, very early in the morning, he sent for the Rev. Mr. Jœnicke and myself, and desired the Lord's Supper to be administered to him, which was accordingly done by Mr. Jœnicke. Before he received it, he put up a long and affecting prayer. To hear this eminent servant of Christ, who had faithfully served his Redeemer very near half a century, disclaiming all merit of his own, humbling himself before the footstool of the divine Majesty as the chief of sinners, and grounding all his hopes of mercy and salvation on the unmerited grace of God, and the meritorious sacrifice of his beloved Saviour, was a great lesson of humility to us.

"Our joy was great on his temporary recovery; but, alas! it was soon changed into sorrow, when we observed that the severe attacks of his illness had, in a great degree, affected the powers of his mind. It was, however, surprising to us that, though his thoughts seemed to be incoherent when he spoke of worldly subjects, they were quite connected when he prayed or discoursed about divine things.

"After his recovery he frequently wished, according to his old custom, that the school children, and Christians, should assemble in his parlor for evening prayer, with which we complied, in order to please him, though we were concerned to observe that these exertions were too much for his feeble frame.

"The happy talent which he possessed of making almost every conversation instructive and edifying, did not forsake him, even under his weak and depressed state. One morning when his friend Dr. Kennedy visited him (after his return) the conversation turning upon Dr. Young's Night Thoughts, which was one of Mr. Swartz's favorite books, he observed to the Doctor, that those weighty truths contained in it were not intended to imply

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that we should abandon society, renounce our business, and retire into a corner, but to convince us of the emptiness of the honors, the riches, and pleasures of this world, and to engage us to fix our hearts where true treasures are to be found. He then spoke with peculiar warmth on the folly of minding the things of this world as our chief good, and the wisdom and happiness of thinking on our eternal concerns.

"It was highly pleasing to hear the part which he took in his conversations with the Rev. Mr. Pohlé, who visited him a little after his recovery, and which generally turned on the many benefits and consolations purchased to believers through Christ. He was transported with joy when he spoke on those subjects; and I hope I may with truth call it a foretaste of that joy which he is now experiencing in the presence of his Redeemer, and in the society of the blessed.

"On the 2d of February, last year, our venerable father had the satisfaction of seeing the Rev. Mr. Gericke, Mr. Holtzberg, and his family. Little did we think that the performance of the last offices for him would prove a part of the duty of our worthy senior, the Rev. Mr. Gericke: and I bless and praise God for leading his faithful servant to us at that very time, when we were most in need of his assistance and comfort.

"On the second or third day after Mr. Gericke's arrival, Mr. Swartz complained of a little pain in his right foot, occasioned by an inflammation, to remove which repeated fomentations were applied; but a few days after we observed, to our inexpressible grief, the approach of a mortification. Dr. Kennedy tried every remedy to remove it, and would, perhaps, have effected the cure, if his frame had been able to support what he suffered. He was an example of patience under all these calamities. He did not utter, during the whole of his illness, one single impatient word.

"The last week of his life he was obliged to lie on his cot the greatest part of the day, and as he was of a robust constitution, it required great labor and exertion to remove him to a chair, when he would sit up. These exertions contributed to weaken him more and more.

"During his last illness, the Rev. Mr. Gericke visited him frequently, and spent much of his time with him in

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conversing on the precious promises of God through Christ, in singing awakening hymns, and in offering his fervent prayers to God to comfort and strengthen his aged servant under his severe sufferings, to continue and increase his divine blessing upon his labors for the propagation of the gospel, and to bless all the pious endeavors of the Society, and all those institutions established in this country for the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ.

"He rehearsed with peculiar emphasis (whilst we were singing) particular parts of the hymns expressing the believer's assurance of faith, and of the great love of God in Christ. His fervor was visible to every one present whilst Mr. Gericke was praying; and by his loud amen showed his ardent desire for the accomplishment of our united petitions.

"A few days before he entered into the joy of his Lord, Mr. Gericke asked him whether he had any thing to say to the brethren? His answer was, 'Tell them that it is my request that they should make the faithful discharge of their office their chief care and concern.'

"A day or two before his departure, when he was visited by the doctor, he said, 'Doctor, in heaven there will be no pain.' 'Very true,' replied the doctor; 'but we must keep you here as long as we can.' He paused a few moments, and then addressed him in these words, 'O, dear doctor, let us take care that we may not be missing there!' These words were delivered with such an affectionate tone of voice, that they made a deep impression on the doctor, and on every one present.

"On Wednesday the 13th of February, which closed the melancholy scene, we observed with deep concern, the approach of his dissolution. The Rev. Messrs. Gericke, Jœnicke, Holtzberg, and myself, were much with him in the morning, and in the afternoon we sung several excellent hymns, and offered up our prayers and praises to God, in which he joined us with fervor and delight. After we had retired, he prayed silently, and at one time he uttered the following words: 'O Lord, hitherto thou hast preserved me; hitherto thou hast brought me; and hast bestowed innumerable benefits upon me. Do what is pleasing in thy sight. I commend my spirit into thy hands; cleanse and adorn it with the righteousness of my Redeemer, and receive me into the arms of thy love and mercy.'"

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It was after this pious and eminently Christian commendation of his soul into the hands of his faithful Creator and merciful Redeemer, that the interesting and affecting incident occurred, which is briefly alluded to in Mr. Gericke's narrative of his dying friend. That excellent man was watching by his side; and observing him apparently lifeless, with his eyes closed, as if his spirit had already winged its immortal flight, he began to sing their favorite hymn, 'Only to Thee, Lord Jesus Christ!' and finished the first verse: when on commencing the second, to his astonishment and delight, the venerable missionary revived, accompanied him with a clear and melodious voice, and completed the long cherished hymn before he breathed his last.

"About two hours after we had retired," continues Mr. Kohlhoff, "he sent for me, and looking upon me with a benignant countenance, he solemnly imparted his last paternal blessing. On offering him something to drink, he wished to be placed on a chair; but as soon as he was raised upon the cot, he bowed his head, and without a groan or struggle, he shut his eyes, and died, between four and five in the afternoon, in the seventy-second year of his age.

"Though our minds were deeply afflicted at the loss of our beloved father, yet the consideration of his most edifying conduct during his illness, his incredible patience under his severe pains, his triumphant death, and the evident traces of sweetness and composure which were left on his countenance, prevented the burst of our sorrows for the present, and animated us to praise God for his great mercies bestowed on us through his faithful servant, and to entreat him to enable us to follow his blessed example, that our last end might be like his.

"His remains were committed to the earth on the 14th of February, about five in the afternoon, in the chapel out of the Fort, erected by him near his habitation, in the garden given to him by the late Tulja maha rajah.

"His funeral was a most awful and very affecting sight. It was delayed a little beyond the appointed time, as Serfojee rajah wished once more to look at him. The affliction which he suffered at the loss of the best of his friends, was very affecting. He shed a flood of tears over his body, and covered it with a gold cloth. We intended to sing a

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funeral hymn, whilst the body was conveyed to the chapel; but we were prevented from it by the bitter cries and lamentations of the multitudes of poor who had crowded into the garden, and which pierced through our souls. We were of course obliged to defer it till our arrival at the chapel.

"The burial service was performed by the Rev. Mr. Gericke, in the presence of the rajah, the resident, and most of the gentlemen who resided in the place, and a great number of native Christians, full of regret for the loss of so excellent a minister—the best of men. O may a merciful God grant, that all those who are appointed to preach the gospel to the heathen world may follow the example of this venerable servant of Christ! And may he send many such faithful laborers, to fulfil the pious intentions and endeavors of the honorable Society for the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ! May he mercifully grant it, for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ! Amen."

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CHAPTER XXI.

Reflections on the Death of Swartz—Testimonies of respect and veneration for his memory; from his brethren at Tanjore and Tranquebar; from Serfojee rajah—Interesting anecdote of him—He erects a Monument to Swartz at Tanjore—Epitaph by the rajah—Other proofs of his regard—His conversations with Dr. Buchanan, and Bishops Middleton and Heber—Reflections on the continued Superstition of the two rajahs—Monument to Swartz at Madras, by the Court of Directors—Honors paid to his memory by the Government of Fort St. George—Eulogy by Dr. Kerr—His last Will.

Such was the calm and peaceful, yet triumphant departure of this distinguished missionary. The circumstances which attended his death were precisely those which might have been anticipated, from the uniform tenor of his life. The one had been eminently pious and consistent, exemplary and holy; the other was accompanied by those evident tokens of the divine presence, and those bright beams of divine consolation, hope, and joy, with which the heavenly Master, whom he had so long and so faithfully served, seldom fails to irradiate "the chamber where the good man breathes his last."

The loss of so excellent and valuable a person, who had, during nearly half a century, occupied so conspicuous a place in the sphere in which he moved, could not but be deeply felt by all who had either witnessed or participated in the important benefits of which he had been, in various ways, the instrument or the author. His missionary brethren, his native converts, the Society which he had so faithfully served, and upon whose Christian efforts he had reflected so much honor, the Hindoo prince, of whom he had been the most disinterested and able guardian and

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friend, and the East Indian government, both at home and abroad, to which he had been so cordially attached, and whose best interests he had so zealously and effectively strengthened and promoted, all vied with each other in the expression of their regret and sorrow at his removal, of their admiration and love of his singular excellences, and of their grateful veneration for his memory.

The feelings of his immediate colleagues and friends at Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and Cuddalore, have been already expressed in the pious and affectionate memorials of Mr. Gericke and Mr. Kohlhoff. His brethren at Tranquebar, who, from his early connection with that mission, always regarded him with peculiar esteem and love, in their letters to their European friends, mentioned his death "as an almost irreparable loss," and sympathized deeply on the occasion with their brethren of the English mission, as they all considered him more as a father than a brother.

On Mr. Gericke's return from Tanjore, he passed a few days at Tranquebar, when he and his Christian brethren there "mutually encouraged each other to follow the high example that had been set them by Mr. Swartz."

We have already seen, that the efforts of the excellent missionary to establish the validity of Serfojee's adoption, having been sanctioned by the approbation of the supreme government in Bengal, waited only the decision of the Court of Directors to be crowned with complete success. Intelligence of this important event reached India in the month of June 1798; when Ameer Sing was formally deposed, and the young prince was raised to the throne. It will readily be believed, that the affection which had prompted him voluntarily to depart from the customs of his country, in bedewing the remains of his venerable friend with his tears, and following in the train of Christian mourners at his funeral, was no transient effusion of grateful feelings. On his accession to the musnud, mindful of the admonitions of his departed benefactor, he corrected various abuses, and endeavored to render his subjects of every denomination happy, by a just and mild government, and was particularly beneficent to the poor Christians at Tanjore, in furnishing a large supply of grain for their support during a time of scarcity.

A treaty having been concluded with the new rajah in the following year, in consequence of which the forts of

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Tanjore were evacuated by the British troops, the English service was discontinued in the fort church; but the rajah permitted the missionaries to perform the Tamul service there, and promised to protect them from all molestation.

Notwithstanding this assurance, no sooner had the British garrison been withdrawn, and the forts replaced under the sole and absolute authority of the rajah, than a report prevailed that it was the intention of his highness to take down the Christian church which had been erected by Mr. Swartz, and to rebuild it on the esplanade. The whole of the small fort of Tanjore being holy ground, devoted originally to the purposes of the pagoda, together with the extreme anxiety displayed by the rajah, to efface, by extraordinary purifications, all the effects and traces of the pollution which had been inflicted on the pagoda, for twenty years, by its contact with an European garrison, gave a degree of probability to the report, that inclined the resident, Mr. Torin, to take an opportunity of speaking to the rajah on the subject.

"I was present, as interpreter," observes Colonel Blackburne, in whose expressive and elegant language the following anecdote, equally honorable to the rajah, and to the pious missionary, is related, "at the interview between the rajah and the resident, when the latter, in the course of general and familiar conversation, alluded, with as much delicacy as possible, to the supposed intention of his highness to remove the church. The effect on the rajah was very striking. He became agitated; the color heightened; he half rose from his seat, and his first words, in answer to the resident, were an indignant reproach to that gentleman for paying any attention whatever to a calumny, which could be credited by none but those who were alike ignorant of his disposition and principles, and of the early events of his life. He eulogized, in glowing terms, the character and conduct of Mr. Swartz, spoke of his various obligations to the venerable padre, and concluded in a loud and somewhat passionate tone, as follows:—

"'So far from pulling down any church built by Mr. Swartz, I would, if his successors wanted a church in the fort, and could not find a convenient spot to build it on, give them a place in my own palace for the purpose.'

"Although thirty-three years have passed away since

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this conversation, I retain a very lively remembrance of the force of the rajah's expressions, and of the energy of his look and manner, when he spurned the report as a calumny, injurious to his honor as a prince, and to his undecaying feelings of grateful and affectionate attachment to his preceptor, benefactor, and friend."

In the year 1801, the Hindoo prince gave another remarkable proof of his gratitude and respect for his late excellent friend, by requesting the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to send out a monument to his memory.

"Inclosed," Mr. Gericke writes, "I beg leave to send you a letter from Serfojee, maha rajah of Tanjore, and to recommend its contents to the Society. No son can have a greater regard for his father, than this good Hindoo had for Mr. Swartz, and still has for his memory."

The letter of the rajah is as follows :—

"*To the honorable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.*

"Honorable Sirs,—I have requested of your missionaries to write to you, their superiors and friends, and to apply to you in my name, for a monument of marble, to be erected in their church that is in my capital and residency, to perpetuate the memory of the late Rev. Father Swartz, and to manifest the great esteem I have for the character of that great and good man, and the gratitude I owe him, my father, my friend, the protector and guardian of my youth; and now I beg leave to apply to you myself, and to beg that, upon my account, you will order such a monument for the late reverend missionary, Father Swartz, to be made, and to be sent out to me, that it may be fixed to the pillar that is next to the pulpit from which he preached. The pillars of the church are about two cubits broad.

"May you, honorable sirs, ever be enabled to send to this country such missionaries as are like the late Rev. Mr. Swartz!

"I am, honorable Sirs,

"Yours, faithfully and truly,

"SERFOJEE RAJAH.

"Tanjore, May 28, 1801."

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The Society to whom this interesting letter, probably the composition of the distinguished writer, was addressed, feeling the importance of the testimony thus borne to the high character of their late invaluable missionary, readily acquiesced in the request of the rajah; and a monument, executed by Flaxman, was, in consequence, sent out to Tanjore. The group, in white marble, represents, in basso relievo, the death-bed of the departing saint, Gericke standing behind him, two native attendants and three children of his school around his bed, and the Hindoo prince at his side, grasping the hand, and receiving the blessing of his dying friend. For some time, the rajah, unwilling, perhaps, to lose sight of an object which recalled a scene so dear to him, retained this monument in his palace; in the principal saloon of which, amidst the portraits of his ancestors, he had also placed that of Swartz. It was at length removed to the church in the inner fort; the western end of which it now adorns, and where, it is hoped, it may long remain—a striking and gratifying memorial of Christian excellence, and of Hindoo gratitude and affection. The following is the appropriate and chaste inscription on this beautiful monument:

To the Memory of the

REVEREND CHRISTIAN FREDERIC SWARTZ,

BORN AT SONNENBURG OF NEUMARK, IN THE KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA,

THE 26TH OF OCTOBER, 1726,

AND DIED AT TANJORE, THE 13TH OF FEBRUARY, 1798,

IN THE SEVENTY-SECOND YEAR OF HIS AGE.

Devoted from his early manhood to the office of Missionary in the East, the similarity of his situation to that of the first preachers of the Gospel, produced in him a peculiar resemblance to the simple sanctity of the Apostolic character. His natural vivacity won the affection, as his unspotted probity and purity of life alike commanded the reverence of the Christian, Mohammedan, and Hindu; for sovereign princes, Hindu and Mohammedan, selected this humble pastor as the medium of political negotiation with the British government; and the very marble which here records his virtues was raised by the liberal affection and esteem of the RAJA OF TANJORE,

MAHA RAJA SERFOJEE.

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The rajah himself composed the following lines, inscribed on the granite stone which covers the grave of Swartz in front of the altar, in the chapel in the mission garden; which, however deficient in poetical taste, are not only curious as the only specimen of English versification known to have been attempted by a Hindoo prince, but highly interesting as a testimony to the character and worth of his venerable friend, as correct and just as it is affectionate and sincere.

Sacred to the Memory of

THE REVEREND CHRISTIAN FREDERIC SWARTZ,

MISSIONARY TO THE HONORABLE

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,

IN LONDON;

WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE ON THE

13TH OF FEBRUARY, 1798,

AGED SEVENTY-ONE YEARS AND FOUR MONTHS.

Firm wast thou, humble and wise,
Honest, pure, free from disguise,
Father of orphans, the widow's support,
Comfort in sorrow of every sort.
To the benighted dispenser of light,
Doing, and pointing to, that which is right.
Blessing to princes, to people, to me;
May I, my father, be worthy of thee!
Wisheth and prayeth thy SARABOJEE.

From the time of his accession to the musnud, the kindness of the rajah to the Protestant missions was marked and unceasing. In 1802 his highness was at Tranquebar, and honored the senior of the Danish missionaries with a visit. In several conversations with him he discovered the most tender and filial remembrance of Mr. Swartz, and expressed much friendship for Messrs. Gericke and Kohlhoff, and for all the missionaries in whom he discovered the same sentiments and zeal; intimating his wish, that none but such as would follow the steps of Mr. Swartz, and were like him, at least in spirit, might be sent out to the mission. The piety of Mr. Kohlhoff's mother had recommended her to the rajah's attention, and had induced him to take her second son

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into his service as a writer. Their lengthened and varied conversation with the rajah, ended to the mutual satisfaction both of his highness and themselves.

This generous prince, a few years afterwards, gave a still more unequivocal and substantial proof of his affection and esteem for his late venerated friend, and one which would have been peculiarly gratifying to his benevolent mind. Having erected a very extensive and costly building, about sixteen miles from Tanjore, for the support of brahmins, and of poor of every description, together with an institution for the maintenance and education of Hindoo children of different castes in various Oriental, and in the English, languages, "his tender regard," says Mr. Kohlhoff, "for the memory of the late Rev. Mr. Swartz, induced him also to establish in the adjacent village of Kanandagoodi, which is inhabited by a considerable number of Christians, a charitable institution for the education and support of fifty poor Christian children; thirty poor Christians are also maintained and clothed at the same munificent institution; and at a choultry near the Fort of Tanjore, fifty poor, lame, and blind, and other real objects of charity, all belonging to the mission, are entirely supported by his bounteous hand. He has likewise given orders, that his Christian servants, civil and military, should not be denied by their officers liberty to attend divine service on Sundays and festivals, and that they should be excused from all other duty on such occasions." In the year 1826, Archdeacon Robinson, then accompanying the late lamented Bishop Heber, visited the different charitable establishments of the rajah just described, to which had been subsequently added two hospitals for the sick, and a beautiful bungalow for the accommodation of European travellers; when he was much pleased to see a large congregation of Christians assembled in the chapel at Kanandagoodi, "to whom," writes Mr. Kohlhoff, "after morning prayers, he gave a kind address, animating them to thankfulness to God for his great mercies showed to them."*

Such were some of the more prominent proofs given by

* Bishop Heber's Journal, vol. i. p. 461, and Last Days of Bishop Heber, p. 200.

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this excellent Hindoo prince of the respect and affection which he entertained for the late venerable missionary, and which he evidently cherished and manifested upon every occasion during his whole life. When Dr. Buchanan was introduced to the rajah, as soon as the first ceremonial in the grand hall of audience was over, his highness led him up to the portrait of Swartz. "He then discoursed," says that generous friend of missions, "for a considerable time concerning 'that good man,' whom he ever revered as his father and guardian."

When, ten years afterwards, Bishop Middleton visited Tanjore, "his highness dwelt," observes the biographer of that eminent prelate, "with evident delight on the blessings which the heavenly lessons and virtues of Swartz had shed upon him and his people, and concluded by professing the warmest respect for those excellent men, Mr. Kohlhoff and his fellow-workers, who had succeeded to the labors of their venerable predecessor." The rajah afterwards selected a portrait of Swartz as the most acceptable memorial he could offer to the English bishop.

The account which Archdeacon Robinson has given* of the interview of Bishop Heber with this grateful prince, ten years after that of his learned predecessor, is equally honprable to the memory of the great and good missionary, and in a high degree interesting.

"The bishop," he writes, "paid a visit of ceremony to the rajah, accompanied by the resident, and attended by all the clergy. We were received in full durbar, in the great Mahratta hall, where the rajahs are enthroned. The scene was imposing, and, from the number of Christian clergymen in the court of a Hindoo prince, somewhat singular; the address and manners of his highness are, in a remarkable degree, dignified and pleasing. The bishop sat on his right, the resident next to his son on his left, and the rest of the party on each side in order. He talked much of 'his dear father,' Swartz, and three times told the Bishop he hoped his lordship would resemble him, and stand in his room. Perhaps few things in the mouth of an Eastern prince, with whom compliment to the living

* Last Days of Bishop Heber, p. 159.

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is generally exaggerated, could show more strongly the sincerity of his affection for the friend he had lost. The openness of his gratitude and reverence for the Christian missionary in the midst of his Brahmins, and himself still constant in his own religion, is admirable; and if on some occasions it be a little too prominent, who would not pardon and even love a fault which is but the excess of a virtue?—'And John Kohlhoff,' said he, 'is a good man, a very good man; we are old school-fellows.'—On the whole, much as we had heard of this celebrated person, we found our anticipations had not been raised too high. Much, doubtless, of the interest excited before we saw him, sprang from the hallowing and endearing associations with the name of Swartz, which in heathen India, or the nations of Christendom, must ever be

"Magnum et venerabile nomen:"

It may, perhaps, appear extraordinary, that the Hindoo prince who had, during his youth, been under the tuition of the pious and zealous missionary, who was evidently so warmly attached to him, and for whose virtues he had so deep a reverence, should have continued during his whole life, and apparently with entire sincerity, a devoted adherent to the wretched idolatry of his country. Greatly as this must be lamented, both for his own sake and that of his people, it must be remembered, that the first twelve years of Serfojee's life were spent amidst the listless indolence and the childish amusements of the Zennanah, and that with the exception of the scattered hours during which he received the instructions of Swartz, and, when called to the throne, of occasional and chiefly official intercourse with him and other Europeans, his habits and associations were almost exclusively Hindoo, and consequently subversive of any more enlightened views, and any better impressions, which he might have derived from his Christian tutor. It has been supposed that the good missionary was restrained by a principle of honor from any direct endeavors to convert his distinguished pupil; and, doubtless, he felt and acted with the most perfect good faith in all that concerned so responsible and delicate an office. But no such restriction appears to have been imposed upon him by

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Tuljajee Rajah, with respect to the education of his adopted son; and it is evident from the preceding details of his intercourse with both the Hindoo princes, that he felt himself at liberty to exhort them to renounce their idolatry, and to worship the true God according to the revelation of the gospel; an affecting instance of which occurs in the last solemn interview between the younger of them and the dying missionary. Both were probably convinced of the folly of the native superstition, and impressed with the superior excellence of Christianity, as they perceived it attractively exemplified in their revered friend; but, as in too many instances in every age and country, whether under the form of false religion, or of indifference and unbelief, the pure and practical demands of the gospel were, as Tuljajee once ingenuously confessed, too directly opposed to the corrupt propensities of human nature to be readily complied with, while the sacrifice not merely of caste, but, as they erroneously apprehended, of princely revenue and authority, and possibly even of life, was too formidable to be overcome by any thing short of that divine grace, which can, in spite of every opposing influence, "bring every thought into captivity to the dominion of Christ." Both these Eastern princes, therefore, contented with that sincere admiration and esteem of the faithful missionary, which induced them to show kindness for his sake to their converted subjects, for themselves unhappily turned aside from the heavenly vision, and were only "almost persuaded to be Christians." Such appears to have been the truth, with respect more particularly to Serfojee Rajah; the intelligence of whose unexpected decease, in the course of the last year, only serves to awaken, with increased interest, the regret it is impossible not to feel, that the pupil and friend of Swartz should have lived and died a stranger to the exalted hopes and consolations of the gospel. May the successor of this amiable prince, trained, as he has been, in hereditary respect for Christian missionaries, and partly under the care of the excellent Kohlhoff, by the grace of God, advance beyond his two immediate predecessors, in the acknowledgment of revealed truth; or if this be, as yet, too sanguine a hope, may he, at least, tread in their steps, and continue, like them, the protector and friend of Christians!

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In his interview with Bishop Middleton, the late rajah of Tanjore avowed his very natural feeling of exultation in having been the first to do honor to the character of Swartz, by giving orders for a monument to be erected to his memory. The Directors of the East India Company were equally anxious to mark the high sense which they entertained of his personal and public worth, by sending out another monument to Madras. The following is an extract of a general letter from the court to the government of Fort St. George, dated October 29, 1807.

"By our extra ship, the Union, you will receive, in four packing cases, a marble monument, which has been executed by Mr. Bacon, under our directions, to the memory of the Rev. Christian Frederic Swartz, as the most appropriate testimony of the deep sense we entertain of his transcendent merit, of his unwearied and disinterested labors in the cause of religion and piety, and the exercise of the purest and most exalted benevolence; also of his public services at Tanjore, where the influence of his name and character, through the unbounded confidence and veneration which they inspired, was for a long course of years productive of important benefits to the Company.

"On no subject has the Court of Directors been more unanimous, than in their anxious desire to perpetuate the memory of this eminent person, and to excite in others an emulation of his great example. We accordingly direct, that the monument be erected in some conspicuous situation near the altar in the church of St. Mary, in Fort St. George, and that you adopt, in conjunction and with the assistance of the Rev. Dr. Kerr, the senior chaplain at your presidency, any other measures that your judgment shall suggest, as likely to give effect to these our intentions, and to render them impressive on the minds of the public at your settlement. As one of the most efficacious, we would recommend that, on the first Sunday after the erection of the monument, a discourse adapted to the occasion be delivered by the senior chaplain. We desire also that the native inhabitants, by whom Mr. Swartz was so justly revered, may be permitted and encouraged to view the monument, after that it shall have been erected, and that translations be made of the inscription into the country languages, and published at Madras, and copies sent to Tanjore, and the other districts in which Mr. Swartz oc-

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casionally resided, and established seminaries for religious instruction.

"We were much gratified by learning that his excellency the rajah of Tanjore had also been desirous of erecting a monument to the memory of Mr. Swartz, in the church which was built by Mr. Swartz himself in the inner fort of that capital, and had sent directions accordingly to this country, in consequence of which a monument has been executed by Mr. Flaxman. We shall give directions for its being received on board one of our ships, free of freight, and we desire that you will afford every facility towards its conveyance to Tanjore."

In the monument thus sent out to Madras by the Directors of the East India Company, the eminent artist, who, from his well-known character as a sincere Christian, doubtless executed it with feelings of peculiar gratification, thought proper, as Flaxman had also done, to describe the closing scene in the life of the apostolic missionary.

The principal compartment of the monument is occupied with an alto-relievo, representing Swartz surrounded by a group of his orphan pupils, to whom he afforded an asylum in his house, and by several of his fellow-laborers, who attended him in his last moments. One of the children is embracing his dying hand, and one of the missionaries is supporting his head; but the eyes of the departing saint are directed, and his hand is raised, towards an object in the upper part of the bas-relief, namely, the cross, which is borne by a descending angel; implying, that the death of Christ, the grand subject of his ministry, was now the chief support of his soul.

Over the bas-relief is the ark of the covenant, which was peculiarly the charge of the priests, and was a striking emblem of the constant theme of his preaching.

Under the bas-relief are further emblems of the pastoral office—the crosier, the gospel trumpet, with the banner of the cross attached to it, and an open Bible, on which is inscribed our Lord's commission to his apostles, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."

On this splendid and appropriate monument, the following elaborate inscription is engraved.

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Sacred to the Memory of

THE REV. CHRISTIAN FREDERIC SWARTZ,

WHOSE LIFE WAS ONE CONTINUED EFFORT TO IMITATE THE EXAMPLE OF

HIS BLESSED MASTER.

Employed as a Protestant Missionary from the government of Denmark, and in the same character by the Society in England for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, he, during a period of fifty years, "went about doing good," manifesting, in respect to himself, the most entire abstraction from temporal views, but embracing every opportunity of promoting both the temporal and eternal welfare of others. In him religion appeared not with a gloomy aspect or forbidding mien, but with a graceful form and placid dignity. Among the many fruits of his indefatigable labors was the erection of the church at Tanjore. The savings from a small salary were, for many years, devoted to this pious work, and the remainder of the expense supplied by individuals at his solicitation. The Christian seminaries at Ramanadporam and in the Tinnevelly province were established by him. Beloved and honored by Europeans, he was, if possible, held in still deeper reverence by the natives of this country, of every degree and every sect; and their unbounded confidence in his integrity and truth, was, on many occasions, rendered highly beneficial in the public service. The poor and the injured looked up to him as an unfailing friend and advocate; the great and powerful concurred in yielding him the highest homage ever paid in this quarter of the globe to European virtue. The late Hyder Ally Cawn, in the midst of a bloody and vindictive war with the Carnatic, sent orders to his officers "to permit the venerable father SWARTZ to pass unmolested, and show him respect and kindness, for he is a holy man, and means no harm to my government." The late Tuljajee Rajah of Tanjore, when on his death-bed, desired to intrust to his protecting care his adopted son, Serfojee, the present Rajah, with the administration of all the affairs of his country. On a spot of ground, granted to him by the same prince, two miles east of Tanjore, he built a house for his residence, and made it an Orphan Asylum. Here the last twenty years of his life were spent in the education and religious instruction of children, particularly those of indigent parents, whom he gratuitously maintained and instructed; and here, on the 13th of February, 1798, surrounded by his infant flock, and in the presence of several of his disconsolate brethren, entreating them to continue to make religion the first object of their care, and imploring with his last breath the divine blessing on their labors, he closed his truly Christian career in the 72d year of his age.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY,

anxious to perpetuate the memory of such transcendent worth,
and gratefully sensible of the public benefits which
resulted from his influence, caused this
monument to be erected
Ann. Dom. 1807.

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For the purpose of obtaining correct information, Dr. Kerr, the senior chaplain at Fort St. George, corresponded with his surviving brethren at Tanjore; and, in the following extracts from the discourse which he preached and printed on this interesting occasion, he may be considered not only as speaking with the full approbation of the East Indian government, but as appealing, on the spot, to those who were themselves witnesses of the truth of his assertions.

"The man," observes this truly Christian preacher, "who follows the injunction of his Saviour, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature,'—whose soul is devoted to this one object, who submits to a thousand privations in the discharge of his high calling, who devotes mind and body to the eternal interests of benighted nations, who is exposed to numberless dangers in the course of his journeyings, yet goes on rejoicing to the end;—such a man is surely deserving of our high esteem, and has the strongest claim on the benevolent feelings of all mankind.

"There is a grandeur in the self-dedication of a human being to such an undertaking, which is not to be discerned in the other pursuits of life. Worldly ambition has her splendid votaries, seeking honor in the midst of danger, and in the face of death. In search of the wealth of this world, we have millions of examples of the most hardy enterprises undertaken, and body and soul are daily sacrificed to this object; but in the persevering effort to call the heathen from their debasing superstitions to the worship of the true God, through Jesus Christ; in the constant endeavor to extend the blessings of civilization, which always accompany the true religion, to a people whom the darkest clouds of ignorance and its thousands of ills overshadow; to labor to emancipate the souls of men from the thraldom of satanic influence, from priestcraft, and from idle or vicious ceremonies—ceremonies calculated to impose on the understanding, and to destroy the finest feelings of the heart; to be employed, I say, in such pursuits, to follow them up with honest zeal, with firm faith in the divine assistance, and the power of the gospel, must be acknowledged, whether we consider the motives which stimulate, or the object in view, to be the most glorious, the most honorable of all undertakings.

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"When, therefore, we reflect, that such was the office of the man whose virtues we are this day called to celebrate; when we know that he was peculiarly distinguished in the course of this high office; that, by the mere effect of Christian virtue, he attracted the love and secured the confidence, not only of the flock which he had called from pagan darkness, and illumined with the blessed light of the gospel, but that he was reverenced far and near by all castes and descriptions of people; that he was even respected by the enemies of our nation, and at the commencement of a bloody war was permitted to preach the doctrines of peace on the very battlements of our enemy; when we reflect on these things, what reverence does it inspire for the man! What a signal testimony does it afford of the power of gospel truth, strikingly evidenced in the faithful practice of a gospel life! And what a convincing proof does it present of the great benefit to be derived from the labors of missionaries, well directed, and honestly and zealously prosecuted!

"It is much to be regretted, that the extraordinary humility of this most excellent man, ever averse to display of every kind, has been the virtuous cause why we are not in possession of sufficient materials to give a succinct account of the various and important labors in which he was continually engaged.

"Indeed, his mind was so impressed with the just sense of the value of his time, and the necessity for unceasing application in his calling, that he had little leisure for even giving those details which were expected from him by the societies under whose direction he had entered upon his missionary labors, and they were often indebted to others for information regarding the important services of their faithful Swartz."

After briefly mentioning the commencement of his career in India, his success in the conversion of many of the natives, and in exciting a spirit of inquiry among the brahmins, his establishment of schools, and his various benevolent and charitable labors, Dr. Kerr thus proceeds:—

"Such a course of life, zealously pursued for a long series of years, and accompanied with that sweetly social disposition for which he was remarkable, gained him many friends, and thousands of admirers. The blessing of the

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fatherless and widow came upon him, and his hope was gladness. He rejoiced evermore in witnessing the divine effects of his honest endeavors; and, if he did not make converts of all with whom he associated, he seldom failed to make friends of those with whom he happened to communicate. Not that he ever compromised a paramount duty from any false politeness, or deference to superior station; for he decidedly and openly declared the condemnation of all, who boldly and openly set gospel rules at defiance, as often as an opportunity for the purpose occurred. His reproof, however, was tempered with so much good nature; the desire of doing good to the offenders was so obviously his intention; that he seldom provoked the smallest ill-will by the strong, but fatherly remonstrances, which irreligious conversation and conduct frequently drew from him. Indeed, he seemed peculiarly gifted by divine Providence with a happy manner, which enabled him to turn almost every occurrence, whether great or trivial, to the praise and glory of God.

"Sensible that no trifling efforts could be productive of any good purpose in the missionary cause in any country, but most particularly in India, he determined that nothing should draw him aside, either to the right hand or to the left. With this view," as it has been already observed, "he early resolved on a life of celibacy. With the same view, he accustomed himself to the most frugal and temperate system of diet; for many years of his life being accustomed to give ten pagodas* at the beginning of each month to his servant, to provide for the expenses of his table, and giving himself no trouble as to the manner in which it was supplied; and, except when objects of charity reminded him of his poverty, he considered the wealth of this world as the dust of the earth."

Dr. Kerr then refers to Swartz's celebrated mission to Hyder Ali, the death-bed scene of Tuljajee Rajah, his influence with the natives, and other remarkable illustrations of his character, which are recorded in the preceding pages. He then continues:—

"Amidst such great public undertakings, and the high degree of consideration attached by all ranks of people in

* About £4 sterling. The reader will remember Mr. Chambers's account of his early simplicity and self-denial.

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this country to Mr. Swartz's character, every road to the gratification of ambition and avarice was completely open before him. Courted by the prince of the country in which he resided; reverenced almost to adoration by the people at large; confidentially employed by the English government in objects of the first political importance, to his great honor it must be recorded, that he continued to value these things only as they appeared likely to prove subservient to his missionary work, as they made friends to assist him in the building of his churches, or the establishment of his schools over the country. With the single eye of the gospel, he looked only to the diffusion of divine truth, and the glad tidings of salvation through faith in Christ Jesus. The same principles which raised him in the public estimation, he continued to cherish in every stage of his elevation. Uncontaminated by the venality and corruption which, from various quarters, it is well known, assailed his virtue, he continued his missionary life, carrying his cross, and following the steps of his divine Master to the end of his earthly being."

Such was the testimony borne by this zealous chaplain of the East India Company to the various and exalted excellencies of the revered and lamented missionary, in the presence of the governor and council and principal inhabitants of Madras, assembled in the presidency church, on the solemn, yet gratifying, occasion of introducing to public notice the monument thus munificently erected to his memory. It may be doubted whether any equal or similar honor was ever paid to so humble, though eminent, an individual, shrinking, as he invariably did, with the most genuine and unaffected modesty, from all public acknowledgment of his services, and anxious only, as he was in all that he achieved, to ascribe the glory to Him to whom alone all glory is due. This just and spontaneous tribute to his virtues was equally honorable to Swartz, and to the distinguished persons by whom it was so wisely and liberally offered; and is at once a proof of his extraordinary merit, and of the sure and signal reward which awaits such a life as his, even in the present world.

One other document remains to be added, in illustration of the character of this devoted missionary, and that is his last will with respect to the disposal of his temporal

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property; and it will be found, as might justly be expected, beautifully corresponding with the disinterested and truly Christian tenor of his life. It is as follows:—

"In the name of God. Into thine hands I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, thou faithful God! Wherein I have sinned, (and I have often and greatly sinned against thee,) forgive it graciously for the sake of the reconciliation-sacrifice of Christ Jesus my Lord, and let me find mercy. Grant me, for Christ's sake, a blessed departure out of this sorrowful, and a blessed entrance into that joyful, life. Amen.

"As I know not how soon God may call me hence, I therefore make this my last will in the presence of God, and with full deliberation.

"As the house in the greater fort, as well as that in the little fort, together with the church, and certain houses in the garden without the fort, were erected out of the money which was assigned me monthly by the Company, so I look on them, as I ever have regarded them, namely, to be the houses of the mission.

"All moveables and books shall be assigned over to my successors for the good of the mission, to be all used as long as they are serviceable, and not to be sold.

"As I have not spent my monthly salary from the Company, but (except what I have devoted to the erection of several buildings) have suffered it to accumulate, and assigned it over to my two trustees, namely, my beloved brother, Mr. Gericke, and my friend, Mr. Briethaupt, of Madras, so such sum shall also be employed for the benefit of the mission; but in such manner that my successor here at Tanjore, and the missionary who shall carry on the work of God for the conversion of the heathen at Palamcotta, shall receive for themselves the annual interest of one hundred pounds sterling, (that is to say, fifty pounds each,) because the fifty pounds which they each receive yearly of the honorable Company, is barely sufficient. Should they, however, receive of the Company a monthly augmentation, then they have no right to receive also the fifty pounds bequeathed by me. This is in that case to fall into the mission or the poor-chest.

"It is hereby my earnest desire, that those missionaries who take upon themselves the work of God in Tanjore

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and Palamcotta, should employ the interest which remains to assist and help themselves, as they find it necessary. Perhaps the Tanjore mission may employ two thirds, and that at Palamcotta one third of the interest, for the use of the schools and churches.

"As my relations have no claim on what I devise and have set apart to the mission; therefore I bequeath to them one hundred star pagodas, as a testimony of my affection, which the children of my sister are to divide among themselves in equal portions.

"The two gold watches that have been given me, shall be sold, and the money be distributed to the poor.

"As a token of my affection, I bequeath to Joseph, my former servant, thirty star pagodas.

"With respect to the garden without the fort, belonging to the mission, I wish that, if possible, the gardener may be supported out of the income. What remains over, can, without further reckoning, fall to the missionaries, and the school-children.

"The few utensils of silver which I possess, I leave to Mr. Kohlhoff, as a token of my hearty love.

"As my former servant Joseph, on account of his ill conduct, ought not to receive the thirty star pagodas destined for him, I bequeath them to the servant who shall be in my service at the time of my death, provided he behave himself tolerably well.

"CHRISTIAN FREDERIC SWARTZ.

"Subscribed and sealed in the presence of

"JOSEPH DANIEL JŒNICKE,
"J. C. KOHLHOFF."

The principal features of this interesting document, containing the record of the venerable missionary's latest earthly views and feelings, are in perfect unison with all that preceded it. Piety, humility, simplicity, mark its spiritual expressions; the purest principles, and Christian charity of the most enlarged and exalted nature, dictated the rest. What the frugality and self-denial of nearly half a century had enabled him to accumulate, after all that he had in the course of that long period expended upon similar purposes, was devoted to the promotion of the sacred work to which his life had been so uniformly

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and so successfully dedicated. "The cause of Christ," as he intimated on his death-bed, "was his heir."

Upon the subject of this final bequest, Mr. Gericke, a few months after the death of his revered friend, communicated the following particulars to professor Schultz.

"His temporal property he had already, many years before his death, made over to the mission at Tanjore and Palamcotta, and the congregations and institutions belonging to them; and for that purpose appointed me as trustee, and I had joined Mr. Breithaupt with myself, in the deed. He therefore, in his will, mentions no executor, that it might thereby be known, that the whole was already the property of the mission, and no longer belonged to Mr. Swartz. As he received an allowance from government, from which he was enabled to defray all the expenses incurred at Tanjore and Palamcotta, he allowed the interest, and often his salary likewise, to fall into the mission-capital. No one will therefore wonder that he should have been able to accomplish so much towards the outward support of the mission."

The fund thus generously provided for the mission at Tanjore, and its branch in Tinnevelly, by their revered benefactor, amounted to between eight and ten thousand pounds sterling; a sum which, combined with the allowances from the British government, from the rajah of Tanjore, and from other sources, was sufficient during many years to support the charities, and to defray the ordinary expenditure of the mission; and though a part of it was afterwards sunk by the imprudence of a missionary, long since departed, it still continues to contribute towards those Christian and important objects, and to form a lasting memorial of the disinterested zeal and love of its pious and munificent founder.

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CHAPTER XXII.

Review of the character of Swartz.

THE character and life of Swartz have now been developed in all their bearings and relations; and it is confidently hoped, that the judgment universally formed of his unrivalled excellence as a Christian missionary, and the high estimation in which he has been so long and so deservedly held, both in India and in Europe, will not only be confirmed, but strengthened and enhanced, by the more complete view comprised in the preceding memoirs of his principles, sentiments, and conduct. Substantially, there has never been but one opinion respecting this extraordinary man; but though all who take an interest in the promotion of Christianity in India have thus concurred in ascribing to him the pre-eminence in this sacred and important work, the impression has been, for the most part, general and undefined, rather than the result of clear and enlarged apprehensions of his character and course. These, illustrated as they have been by many public documents, and by a series of private and confidential communications, have now, it is trusted, been fully and satisfactorily displayed. Briefly, therefore, to review the holy and beneficent career of this "man of God," and to point out, more especially to those who may be engaged in similar Christian labors, the force and efficacy of his example, will form no unsuitable or unprofitable sequel to this record of his admirable life.

Piety of no ordinary depth and energy formed the basis of his character. Unmarked by the terror and alarm which have sometimes led to peculiarly zealous and self-

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denying labors in the cause of religion, its origin and nature were calm and gentle as the "still small voice" which opened the heart of Mary and of Lydia to the reception of divine truth, yet not less powerful and efficacious than that which penetrated and subdued the persecuting Saul of Tarsus to the faith and obedience of the gospel. The mind of Swartz was at a very early period of his history deeply and permanently impressed with the ineffable love of God in the work of man's redemption. The great "mystery of godliness,"—"God in Christ reconciling the world unto himself," not sparing "his own Son," but delivering him up to death for us all, to "the death of the cross"—this miracle of mercy, this astonishing proof of divine love, this wonderful and effectual provision for human guilt and misery, brought home to his heart in "demonstration of the spirit and of power," humbling, consoling, purifying, elevating him, took possession of his soul, absorbed every opposing and every secular thought, and excited in him, as in the converted apostle, that one simple, predominating, inextinguishable inquiry, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?"

It is impossible to peruse the letters of Swartz, even from the commencement of his course, without perceiving that the very essence of his religion was this heartfelt impression of the grace of God in Christ Jesus, the cordial acceptance of that message of reconciliation which he was commissioned to announce to others, and which was to himself, from the hour in which he first received it "in truth" to the last moment of his existence, the source of inward peace, the principle of ardent gratitude and love, and the motive to self-denying and devoted, yet spontaneous and delightful, obedience. Though few, perhaps, could have less to deplore as to any positive and wilful deviations from the path of moral rectitude and virtue, few of those who have been conscious that they had "much to be forgiven," have evinced a more broken and contrite spirit, or have "loved more," than the humble and gratefully devoted subject of these memoirs.

Humility, springing, as it did in Swartz, from a deep conviction of the depravity of human nature, and of his own immeasurable distance, even after his highest attainments, from the demands of the perfect law of God, was, indeed, one of the distinguishing features of his character,

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as it was the foundation of his security amidst many surrounding dangers, and one of the most efficient causes of his excellence and his happiness. He was "clothed with humility."

Combined with this peculiarly Christian principle, was that singular and transparent simplicity, which so powerfully recommended him to men of every rank and every religion, and which was the grand secret of his unparalleled influence and success. Under any circumstances, Swartz would have been a man of integrity, and of frank and open manners; but it was his piety which produced in him that "freedom from guile," of which the Hebrew psalmist speaks, and which was characteristic of the Saviour himself, and of one of his earliest disciples, and that "simplicity and godly sincerity" which St. Paul declares was one of the sources of his own elevated joy. To him, as to that holy apostle, "to live was Christ." Separate from the attainment of his personal salvation, and from the daily and hourly endeavor to promote that of others, from the exhibition of Christian doctrine and the exemplification of Christian precepts, from the enlargement of the Redeemer's kingdom, and the pursuit of his glory, he had no object, no happiness, no desire. Never did any uninspired man discover more perfect simplicity of purpose, and more patient and persevering labor in accomplishing it. Except, therefore, as connected with the one grand business of his life, all persons, places, and circumstances, were to him comparatively indifferent. To him, mere worldly pleasure presented no charms, the opportunity of gain no temptation, the pursuits of ambition no attraction. To all such allurements he was habitually and invariably insensible. He passed unhurt amidst them all: and attained, as we have already seen, the rare distinction of the most unequivocal testimonies to his possession of the purest and most disinterested virtue. Can we wonder, that one so pious, humble, upright, and sincere, should excite the veneration, and conciliate the confidence of all around him; that Hindoo princes, observant and acute, should cultivate his friendship, invite his counsel, and invoke his protection; that Mohammedan tyrants, subtle and suspicious, should respect his integrity and accept his mediation; that European governors and officers, civil and military, should intrust to him the most

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important concerns, and co-operate with him in all his plans; that by the great body of the people of every class, he should be revered, idolized, and obeyed?

"Of Swartz," said Bishop Heber,* "and his fifty years labor among the heathen, the extraordinary influence and popularity which he acquired, both with Mussulmans, Hindoos, and contending European governments, I need give you no account, except that my idea of him has been raised since I came into the south of India. I used to suspect, that, with many admirable qualities, there was too great a mixture of intrigue in his character; that he was too much of a political prophet, and that the veneration which the heathen paid and still pay him, and which indeed almost regards him as a superior being, putting crowns and burning lights before his statue, was purchased by some unwarrantable compromise with their prejudices. I find I was quite mistaken. He was really one of the most active and fearless, as he was one of the most successful missionaries who have appeared since the apostles. To say that he was disinterested in regard to money, is nothing; he was perfectly regardless of power, and renown never seemed to affect him, even so far as to induce an outward show of humility. His temper was perfectly simple, open, and cheerful; and in his political negotiations, (employments which he never sought for, but which fell in his way,) he never pretended to impartiality, but acted as the avowed, though certainly the successful and judicious agent of the orphan prince intrusted to his care, and from attempting whose conversion to Christianity he seems to have abstained from a feeling of honor.† His other converts were between six and seven thousand, besides those which his predecessors and companions in the cause had brought over."

Such was the testimony of Bishop Heber, when writing from Trichinopoly, immediately after his most interesting and memorable visit to Tanjore, and within three days of his own unexpected and lamented removal from the world. There he had witnessed with almost overwhelming delight, the success of Swartz's labors, and had pronounced the episcopal blessing in their own language upon more than

* Journal, vol. ii. p. 461.

† This remark is to be corrected by a reference to p. 383.—*Am. Ed.*

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thirteen hundred native Christians, assembled in one of his mission churches; and there, while standing on the grave of that apostolic man, he addressed both the missionaries and the people in a solemn and affecting charge, the deep impression of which can never, surely, be effaced from their remembrance, commending them to God, and to the word of his grace, and animating them by the memory of their departed father, to perseverance, fidelity, and Christian order.

If, as the messenger of the Lord of hosts, "the law of truth was in his mouth," as the minister of the Prince of peace, the law of kindness which was in his heart prompted him upon every occasion to "speak the truth in love." Though "his spirit," like that of the apostle, "was stirred within him" while he beheld the surrounding idolatry, he inveighed not against it in terms of bitterness and reproach, but testified against its guilt and folly, "even weeping," and invited its wretched votaries, in the tender language of the parable of the prodigal son, to arise and return to their heavenly Father. Calm and dispassionate, he detected the sophistry of the brahmin, and refuted the cavils of the Mohammedan, by that perfect acquaintance with the doctrines and errors of both, which he had happily acquired by the labor and the study of his early years,* and feared not, in the presence of princes and governors, to enforce the principles and precepts of the gospel in all their genuine simplicity and truth.

The only tract in Tamul which he ever published, is still extensively circulated in the south of India, and in Ceylon; and "when we read," says one of the native catechists in Tinnevelly, "our late father Swartz's dialogues between a Christian and a heathen, we are constrained to say, that he still lives to teach the present, yea, succeeding generations."

The preaching, however, and the instruction of Swartz, were not, as we have already seen, "with excellency of speech," or of man's "wisdom." He determined, like the great apostle, "to know nothing," whether among Hindoos or Europeans, "save Jesus Christ, and him crucified." This divine and all important topic, not stated barely or abstractedly as a point of doctrine, but displayed

* See page 97.

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in all its causes, connections and consequences, as the remedy for the guilt and the prevalence of sin, with apostolic "uncorruptness, gravity, and sincerity, and with sound speech, which could not be condemned," convinced and impressed multitudes of his hearers, and proved to many of them "the power of God unto salvation." His patience also, in teaching both adults and children, his anxiety not to swell, like Xavier, and other Romish missionaries, the mere numbers of his converts, but to render them intelligent, humble, practical Christians, and his entire freedom from all ostentation or exaggeration in the periodical reports of his proceedings, are particularly deserving of commendation.

Among the qualities which tended materially to accredit and recommend him as a missionary, was that sweetness of disposition, and that cordiality and kindness of address which, springing "out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned," shed an aspect of benignity and cheerfulness over his countenance, and added a charm to his very appearance, and persuasion to his lips. He was at peace with God, and his heart was habitually animated by that love to him, which irresistibly expanded in love to his brother also. In him was remarkably exemplified the beautiful observation of Lord Bacon; "Certainly it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in Providence, and turn upon the poles of truth."

Those who knew him personally, unanimously agree, that it was impossible to converse with Swartz without being convinced of the identity of true piety and real happiness. Though, like the aged patriarch, at the close of life, amidst the pressure of disease and pain, and in the anticipation of eternity, he might be allowed to call the present a "sorrowful world," few, perhaps, ever passed through it with nobler or purer enjoyment. He was equally welcome and equally happy, at the palace and the cottage, amidst the councils of princes, and the instruction and conversation of the poor. His well informed and liberal mind, and cheerful, unaffected manners, rendered him an acceptable guest at the table of the military commander, and in the houses of the civil servants of the East India Company; and whether among the rich or the poor, his one great object was ever kept in view, of promoting

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the honor of his heavenly Master, and the present and future welfare of mankind. Well had he studied, and eminently did he illustrate, St. Paul's eloquent description of the ministerial character, "Giving no offence in any thing, that the ministry be not blamed; but in all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God; in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in labors, in watchings, in fastings; by pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armor of righteousness on the right hand and on the left; by honor and dishonor, by evil report and good report; as deceivers and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold we live; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things."

Of the beneficence and charity of Swartz it is difficult to speak in terms of adequate praise. From the commencement to the completion of his missionary course, he realized the beautiful, and only traditionary aphorism of our Saviour, that "it is more blessed to give than to receive." With his brethren and associates he divided one portion of his allowances from government, expended another in the erection of churches and schools, and with a third maintained catechists and teachers. He not only visited the fatherless and widows in their affliction, but during the greater part of his life, the education and support of orphans formed one of the principal and most delightful objects of his daily attention and employment. Such was his paternal affection for the poor and destitute, that on discovering what he supposed to be a benevolent establishment for orphans at Seringapatam, he could not help indulging a glow of kindly feeling even towards Hyder Ali himself. We have seen, too, notwithstanding the generous expenditure of his whole life, that by husbanding his resources, he proved a permanent benefactor at his death to the sacred cause to which he had been so simply, yet so energetically devoted.

It will readily be imagined, that, without assuming any undue authority, the influence of this eminent man with his coadjutors, and with the native teachers and converts, was commanding and supreme. He was, upon the

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soundest principles of reason and Scripture, a lover of order, regularity, and just obedience. When, a few years after his death, on the proposal by his successors of some new regulations to which some objections were made by the native Christians on the ground that while Mr. Swartz was with them no such rules had existed, the missionaries replied, that "during their revered father's lifetime, his presence and his word had been instead of all regulations;" and at a later period, Christian David, the son of the pious Sattianaden, observed, that "Swartz gave good advice to the native priests, catechists, schoolmasters, pupils, and converts, and composed all their differences with apostolic discretion and love."

The talents and acquirements of a man so highly honored and so eminently and extensively useful, could be of no ordinary and limited kind. His natural endowments were, however, by no means brilliant or commanding. A sound judgment, calm and steady energy, great acuteness and sagacity in the discernment of character, and in the conduct of important affairs, resolution and perseverance in the execution of plans deliberately formed, were their principal characteristics. Though not profoundly learned, in addition to the knowledge of classical literature which he acquired in Germany, he was a good Hebrew scholar,* and a master of the Tamul and Persian, the Hindoostanee, the Mahratta, and the Indo-Portuguese tongues. These were all which were practically useful in the position which he occupied in India. The stores of Sanscrit learning would otherwise have been objects of his research. The correctness and ease with which he wrote and spoke the English language were remarkable. From the period of his settlement at Trichinopoly, he was indeed, closely connected and identified with English society, habits, and manners. He was warmly and loyally attached to the British government and interests in India, anxious only for the correction of abuses, and the rendering of our growing ascendancy and power subservient to the moral and religious, as well as civil and political, welfare of the natives of the vast empire so wonderfully submitted to our control. His cultivation of English

* Dr. Buchanan mentions that he found at Tanjore some Syriac tracts, translated by Mr. Swartz from the German.

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literature, though in some degree general, was chiefly confined, as might be expected, to our theological writers.

If to these intellectual endowments and attainments, be added that entire freedom from every selfish and personal consideration, whether of wealth, fame, or power, that perfect disinterestedness and integrity, which the united voice of friends and enemies, of contemporaries and succeeding inquirers has so unequivocally and so justly ascribed to him, it cannot be a subject of surprise, that he should subdue the prejudices and win the hearts of all around him; and that without the slightest wish to be thus employed, his interposition and assistance should, upon various occasions, have been solicited and courted in affairs of civil and political importance, in every one of which the result was equally honorable to the uprightness of his principles, and the ability of his conduct. "The spirit of power and of love, and of a sound mind," was in this, as well as in every other part of his character, conspicuous and predominant, and tended at once to give him favor, and to render him acceptable both with God and with men.

The personal habits of this extraordinary man have been already sufficiently apparent. Simplicity, moderation, self-denial, activity, regularity, patience, kindness, courtesy, cheerfulness, pervaded his every thought, word, and action. He was engaged in a multiplicity of affairs, civil and political, as well as religious; wrote, and for many years corresponded much, both on matters of public business and of private friendship; but such was his vigor and such his habits of application and despatch, that he was never hurried or overwhelmed. His favorite recreation seems to have been in the intercourse of Christian friendship, and in the exercise of Christian psalmody, the taste for which he acquired in his youth, and the melody of which soothed his departing hours.

How frequently the repose of the night was interrupted by the necessary occupations of business, or the more sacred duties of devotion, we have before had occasion to observe; and when, a few years after his departure, Dr. Buchanan visited Tanjore, he was told that Swartz seldom preached to the natives without previous study, and that he continued a diligent student to the last,—thus proving, by his powerful example, what is also eminently illustrated

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by that of Martyn, that though human learning or knowledge is not to supersede that which is divine, or the meditations of the student to preclude a humble dependence on the teaching which is from above, they are, at the same time, the best companions and auxiliaries of missionary piety, and missionary labor and success.

It is remarkable, considering the length of his career, and the variety, and frequently the difficulty and delicacy, of his engagements, that the testimonies to the character and conduct of Swartz should be concurrent and unanimous; that, with the single exception of his supposed tendency to political interference, which has been so perfectly refuted, there should be absolutely no discordant voice; that all, however differing on other points, should agree in admiring and revering him. It was not that his principles and his proceedings were universally approved; for many, doubtless, both Hindoos and Europeans, from unbelief or mere nominal Christianity, thought both the one and the other mistaken, visionary, and extreme; while others might perhaps have been inclined to interrupt or oppose him in his plans and labors. But such was his wisdom, his prudence, his blamelessness, his sanctity, his acknowledged usefulness and beneficence, that prejudice was disarmed, malice was defeated, enmity, if at any time it existed, was subdued. Those who would willingly have blamed, found no just ground of complaint against him, and those "who were of the contrary part were ashamed, having no evil thing to say of him."

It is still more extraordinary that, whether during the extended course of his ministry, or during the long interval of years which have elapsed since his departure to a higher world, no one, whatever might be his dispositions, relations, or opportunities, has ever asserted or insinuated any thing injurious or depreciating respecting the character or memory of this admirable man. It is not intended to be affirmed that he was faultless. The sins and imperfections of the holiest of the sons of men, and his own singular humility, and unaffected acknowledgments, sufficiently preclude so arrogant and inconsistent a claim.

It is, however, undoubtedly true, that, whatever may have been the failings and infirmities of Swartz, they were known only to himself and to God. By his fellow-mortals they have not only never been proclaimed, but never even

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conjectured. He was like the patriarch of old, "perfect and upright in his generation," and, so far as the observation and scrutiny of man extended, exemplary and blameless. To what ever degree this peculiar excellence really belonged to him, he owed it, as he would gratefully have acknowledged, to the principles and motives of the gospel, and to that grace of God which had made him what he was, by which he ennobled the name of missionary, and displayed in these later days the virtues of the apostolic age. But he has long since quitted a state of being from which imperfection is inseparable, and has joined the assembly of the "just made perfect," where, clothed with that robe of righteousness to which by faith in his Redeemer he alone trusted for acceptance, he has been "presented faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy."

The character and example of Swartz have been justly exhibited as a model to protestant missionaries of every class during more than half a century. "The bishop," observes the biographer of a late Oriental Prelate,* "used to say at his table at Calcutta, that he wished a copy of the memoirs of Swartz might be placed in the hands of every student at Bishop's College, and every missionary throughout the diocese." The peculiar nature of his example renders it eminently worthy of such a recommendation. It is not that of one whose talents or acquirements were so exalted and extensive as to dazzle and confound the beholders, and, by its immense superiority, or unattainable excellence, to preclude all hope of successful imitation. It is, as we have already observed, that of a man of solid, but not in themselves and separately considered, of uncommon endowments; though, in their proportion, combination, and harmony, it must be admitted, not often witnessed or possessed. Sound, however, and valuable as his intellectual powers and acquisitions were, his moral and religious qualities were those which chiefly distinguished him; which gave force and energy to his character, which conciliated the esteem, and secured the confidence of all, and which have rendered his name illustrious, and his memory, as well as his labors, so inestimable a blessing to the church and to the world.

* Brief Memoirs, by the Rev. Edward James, p. 108.

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It was the triumph of principles and of conduct purely and eminently Christian, of that singleness of eye and simplicity of purpose, which at first carried him willingly and with his whole heart to India, of that faith, hope, and love, which, placing full before him "the prize of his high calling," the "crown of righteousness," the "crown of life," and strengthening, animating, and constraining him, led to that "patient continuance in well doing," whether in the humbler or more elevated departments of his duty, which at length conducted him to "glory, and honor, and immortality."

And let not any one imagine, that this is a course which, though easily described, may be easily exemplified and pursued. The grace which originated so holy and self-denying a purpose, as that of abandoning the ties of kindred and of country, and of crossing distant seas, and sojourning in strange, and partially civilized regions, of acquiring difficult, and, in any other view, for the most part uninteresting languages, and of associating with those whose errors, superstitions, and vices could not but be peculiarly painful and revolting to a religious mind, is widely different from that which may legitimately lead to a dedication to the office of the ministry in a native and a Christian land; while the grace which, amidst incessant toil, frequently amidst discouragement and disappointment, not seldom under the pressure of infirmity, and amidst the prevalence and the danger of surrounding disease and death, and, what is more than all, amidst perpetual temptations to the indulgence of cupidity and earthly gratification, must be allowed, by all who are competent to form a correct judgment upon the subject, to be equally rare and exclusively Christian, to be the result only of the closest and most uninterrupted communion with God; of unremitting watchfulness and self-control; of habitual and unbroken meditation upon the inspired sources of wisdom and consolation, and of fervent and persevering prayer. Yet such was the course which the grace of God originally inspired in the breast of the subject of these memoirs, and which it continued uninterruptedly to cherish, and, at the close of fifty years, crowned with unexampled success and honor.

Of the extent to which his character and his services were held in admiration and reverence, the pious mis-

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sionary himself was utterly and unaffectedly unconscious. Neither in his public nor in his private correspondence, can the slightest trace be discerned of any feeling of self-complacency. His history affords a striking and encouraging illustration of the truth of that general principle of the conduct of Almighty God towards mankind,—"Them that honor me I will honor;" and of that corresponding declaration of our Lord and Master,—"If any man serve me, him will my Father honor." It was verified in the respect and confidence which his name inspired, both in India and in Europe, in the esteem and affection of the wise and good, in the signal blessing which accompanied his labors, and in the veneration with which his memory is every where cherished.

Honored, however, as he was, both in his life and in his death, he was still in this world, to adopt the beautiful language of the son of Sirach, "like the morning star in the midst of a cloud," which intercepted, and partially obscured his rays, and deprived him at once of his native lustre, and of his unimpeded influence and power. But he kindled in the south of India a light which has been continually growing brighter and stronger, and is hastening, as we devoutly trust, to a more complete and "perfect day;" while he is already, to the eye of faith, exalted "among the children of God," above the brightness of all earthly glory, and shall ere long "shine forth like the sun," in full and unclouded splendor, "in the kingdom of their Father."

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CHAPTER XXIII.

Some account of the state of the Mission since the death of Swartz.

Compiled by the American Editor.

SWARTZ left behind him several coadjutors, by whose zealous exertions the cause of Christianity continued to flourish. The senior of these, was the excellent Gericke, who, though statedly resident at Vepery, near Madras, occasionally assisted Mr. Kohlhoff, the successor of Swartz at Tanjore, and particularly co-operated with the indefatigable Jœnicke, in the south of the peninsula. Jœnicke died in the early part of 1800. He was a great blessing to the congregation and school at Tanjore, and an important instrument of the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ in the countries of the south, where he erected several churches, established schools, and, in various ways, promoted the kingdom of his Master.

In the following year, Mr. Gericke reported the gratifying intelligence that some new congregations had recently sprung up in the south; that at Dindegal and Madura, chapels were building; and that he had determined to employ Sattianaden, as an itinerant teacher, at these and other places. At Kandagadi, Adanjour, and Leratoor, many were converted to the faith, and chapels were erected for divine worship. The majority of these new members were of the collary-caste, who had been noted robbers. A new school-house was also opened at Tanjore, capable of accommodating above a thousand children, in which the English, the provincial, and the Tamul schools were collected together.

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Early in 1803, Mr. Gerické travelled through the Mysore, and from thence to Palamcotta, and nearly to the extremity of the peninsula. He found the people very eager for instruction. Many of the natives had broken their idols, and buried them in the ground. In the course of this journey, more than 1,300 persons were baptized. After his departure, the native teachers formed 18 new congregations, and instructed and baptized 2,700 people, so that the number of the converts did not fall short of 4,000. Considerable persecution was excited in consequence. It was silenced at length by the interference of the collector of the district. In connection with the extraordinary number of persons admitted to the church by Gerické, it should be recollected that various means of grace had been in active operation for many years in the southern districts, under the direction of Swartz, Jœnicke, and Sattianaden. Fervent prayers had also been long offered for the divine blessing.

Soon after his return from the south, Mr. Gerické was attacked by a fever, of which he died at Vellore, Oct. 12, 1803, in the 62d year of his age, and in the 38th of his labors as a missionary to India. He had been greatly afflicted in his domestic relations, having lost a daughter and an only son, whom he greatly and deservedly loved. His character was mild, meek, and humble. His conversation was very agreeable from the stores of information which he had accumulated. The simplicity and integrity of his character had obtained for him the title of "*the primitive Christian.*" His readiness and diligence in doing good were unwearied, and his charities were munificent. In 1800, he rebuilt the church at Cuddalore, out of his own funds, and at his death, besides a provision for the Christian poor at Negapatam, he left to the Vepery mission about six thousand pounds sterling, together with the reversion of another considerable sum and a large house on the demise of his widow. He was, in short, only inferior in piety and benevolence to Swartz himself.

Upon Mr. Kohlhoff now devolved, in addition to the extensive Tanjore mission, and the care of the numerous congregations between Palamcotta and Cape Comorin, the chaplaincy of the new English garrison at Tanjore. Mr. Cœmerer of Tranquebar and the catechists were the only assistance which could be for some time procured. Re-

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peated applications for new missionaries were made at Halle in vain. The venerable professor Schultz of the orphan house had rested from his labors. In 1806, Mr. Christopher Horst, a German student, who had assisted Mr. Gericke, was ordained, and appointed to the Tanjore mission. He died in 1810, to the great regret of all the friends of the mission. His extensive learning, amiable disposition, and uncommon attention to business, had afforded the most sanguine hopes of his proving a great blessing to the mission.

A short time previously to the death of Mr. Horst, Dr. Buchanan visited Trichinopoly and Tanjore on his way to Madras. This ardent and munificent friend of the missionary cause, contemplated with great delight, the scene of Swartz's labors, while he witnessed the numbers and apparent happiness of the native converts, the piety, zeal, and learning of Kohlhoff, Horst, Pohlé and John, and the simple eloquence of the aged Sattianaden. Wherever he travelled, this eminent man left behind him the traces of his Christian beneficence. In 1805, Dr. Buchanan's Memoir on the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India, was published in England. On the renewal of the charter of the East India Company in 1812, a provision was made for the establishment of the bishopric of Calcutta, and of an archdeaconry at each of the three presidencies. In consequence of these efforts, a number of churches have been erected, schools built and endowed, and the Bishop's college for training native youth, established at Calcutta. A bishopric has lately been erected for Madras.

The mission at Tranquebar has been, for some time, gradually verging towards decay. At Trichinopoly, Mr. Pohlé maintained the original foundation of Swartz, and labored faithfully till 1818, though he never added greatly to the numbers of the congregation. But at Tanjore, and in the surrounding country, and in Tinnevelly, and southward towards Cape Comorin, the more extensive field planted by Swartz, and during more than twenty years cultivated by his labors, and by those of Gericke, Jœnicke, and Kohlhoff, and more recently by the valuable assistance of Sherschneider, Haubroe, and Rosen, the triumphs of the gospel have been progressive and delightful. In whatever part of Southern India inquiry has

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been made as to the existence of native protestant Christians, some of the converts of Swartz and Gericke have been discovered, thus showing the beneficial influence of the early missions. About the year 1817, the number of protestant Christians in the district of Tinnevelly amounted to about 4,000, scattered through 63 villages. "The number of converts," says bishop Heber, writing from Trichinopoly in 1826, "is gradually increasing; and there are in the south of India, about 200 protestant congregations, the numbers of which have been vaguely stated at 40,000. I doubt whether they reach 15,000; but even this, all things considered, is a great number." The calculation of bishop Heber is thought to be below the real amount. The number of native Christians on the coast of Coromandel, and in the southern districts of the peninsula is supposed to be 20,000; while the total number of converts from the commencement of the missions, may be fairly estimated at 60,000. Many of them are, doubtless, merely nominal Christians.

These missions have been transferred from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and placed under the superintendence of the bishop of Calcutta.

The following statements furnish the most recent intelligence which we have received from the missions. Of the Bishop's college at Calcutta, W. H. Mill, D. D. is principal; G. W. Withers, professor; M. R. De Mello, missionary; James Sykes, printer; Bowyer, Cæmerer, Godfrey, Horst, Jeremiah, Jones, Simpson, catechists, connected with the college but employed in various quarters. The daily attendance of scholars is 1,257. A native student, Mohesh Chunder Ghose, has been admitted under circumstances of great interest, with the view of future employment as a missionary.

The property left to the Vepery and Tanjore missions by Swartz and Gericke, has been transferred to the Committee of the Society by the executors, in order to secure it from the casualties of individual trust. It now amounts to 101,600 sicca rupees.

The scholars connected with the Madras mission and the outstations amount to 3,220. The Society has granted 14,000 rupees for the erection of mission and schoolhouses, and other buildings. At Vepery, J. L. Irion,

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missionary, two catechists and six native assistants, are laboring. Dr. Rottler, on account of advanced age, has retired from active duties. The communicants are 411. There are in 27 schools 1,071 scholars. Four native young men are in the seminary. At Tanjore, J. C. Kohlhoff and A. C. Thompson are missionaries; C. D. Horst, catechist. Mr. Kohlhoff has been much hindered in his work from sickness. The children under instruction amount to 1,586. In the English school are many promising youth. At Trichinopoly, H. D. Schreyvogel labors as a missionary. There are four services weekly. Communicants, 138; scholars, 340 in 13 schools.

The missions of the Church Missionary Society in Southern India, occupying in part the scene of Swartz's labors, embrace 10 stations, 15 ordained European missionaries, 322 native assistants, 224 schools, 7,275 scholars, and 441 communicants. Ample and highly interesting details of the progress of true knowledge and piety have been furnished. In several hundred villages, the sacred volume is statedly read and explained. It is now found to be very difficult by the heathen, to support the annual idol celebration at Tinnevelly. The car has been materially lightened, and even now, there are not persons enough to draw it. Every month, a large number of teachers and catechists assemble at Palamcotta for the purpose of receiving religious instruction from the resident missionary. In short, there has been not only a great abandonment of external idolatry, but many individuals have apparently received the truth as it is in Jesus.

Mr. Spaulding of the American mission in Ceylon, writing from Palamcotta, under date of January 30, 1834, says, "Tinnevelly is a large town of 22,000 inhabitants, and for a native place, bears the marks of wealth. In Palamcotta, the missionaries have one chapel and two or three other places where they have schools." On the 3d of February, Mr. S. went with Mr. Rhenius to the church where the catechists, 85 in number, were assembled, including seven head catechists. Most of them were from villages from ten to one hundred miles distant. All, as it was hoped, were true followers of Christ. The head catechists are captains of fifties, as the others are of tens; and over all is John Devasagayam, the native priest.

The London Missionary Society have twelve stations

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in Southern India, where the prevalent language is the Tamul, though the Malayalim and others are spoken. The names of the stations are Bangalore, Salem, Coimbatore, Quilon, Nagercoil, Neyoor, Combaconum, Chittore, Madras, Tripasore, Cuddapah, and Vizagapatam. The number of ordained European missionaries is sixteen. The number of assistants is about 100; of schools, 208; scholars, 5,656. In the eastern division of the South Travancore mission, there are 51 outstations. The seminary has 26 youths. In six months, 30,000 tracts had been printed for the Nagercoil and Palamcotta Tract Society. A spirit of inquiry has been excited among some of the heathen of high caste, who readily receive the Scriptures and tracts. In the western division of South Travancore, the outstations are 64; about 700 families are under instruction, and 2,500 persons constant attendants on the means of grace. About 700 persons renounced idolatry in 1832.

In the early part of the year 1834, the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, adopted the following resolutions.

"1. Whereas Providence indicates that the time has come when a mission among the Tamul people on the Coromandel coast should be commenced,—

"Resolved, That the mission in Ceylon be instructed to send two of their own number to the coast opposite to Jaffna, for the purpose of commencing the mission.

"2. And whereas it is of importance to facilitate the printing of Bibles and tracts for the benefit of the Tamul people in southern India, and whereas Jaffna is comparatively difficult of access from this country, on account of its insular position, while Madras is conveniently situated for the operations of a Tamul printing establishment,—

"Resolved, That while it is expedient to maintain a printing establishment in Jaffna for the immediate use of the mission in that district, it is proper, should Providence permit, that another establishment be placed in Madras; and that such an establishment be attempted on the return of Mr. Winslow to India."

As this portion of Hindoostan falls within the Madras presidency, application was made to the governor at Madras for leave to extend the mission to the continent. Permission was given to open stations in any part of the

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district. On the 21st of July, 1834, Messrs. Hoisington and Todd, Mrs. Todd, with Francis Asbury, Edward Warren, 1st, and Edward Warren, 2d, native catechists and helpers, left Ceylon to commence a mission at Madura. Mr. Spaulding accompanied them with the expectation of returning soon. Mrs. Hoisington from Ceylon will soon join the mission. The distance from Jaffna to Madura is about 120 miles. The mission has been commenced under very favorable auspices, as the missionaries are well supplied with books, tracts, and native helpers. The people were found ready to hear, as well as eager to receive books and tracts. The population of Madura is 50,000, and of the district 1,300,000. The city is encircled with walls, and may be emphatically termed "a city of temples." The principal wall of the largest temple is not less than three quarters of a mile in circumference. The temple has at least ten thousand massy pillars of stone. May it soon be reclaimed to the service of Jehovah, and may the blessing of the Head of the church crown with great success, this effort of American Christians to labor on the ground once trodden by the feet of Swartz, Gericke, and Kohlhoff.

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